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The Huntington California Expedition.

The Shasta

BY ROLAND B. DIXON.

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V.—THE SHASTA.

By ROLAND B. DIXON.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE material presented in the following paper was collected by the writer during the seasons of 1900, 1902, 1903, and 1904, partly from the few Shasta resident on the Siletz Reservation in Oregon, but mainly from those still remaining in their former habitat in California. A large part of the information was secured from Sargent Sambo, hereditary chief of the Kī'katsik or Wirūhikwai'iruk! a Shasta of the Klamath River. Further material was obtained from several old men in this section and from other individuals in Scott Valley, at Forks of Salmon, Yreka, and elsewhere. A considerable mass of linguistic material and texts was also secured, and is in preparation. Every facility was given to the work of the Expedition, and much assistance given at Siletz in 1902 by Mr. D. D. McArthur, and again in 1903 and 1904 by Mr. J. J. McKoin, United States Indian agents. Thanks are also due to Mr. Conrad Litchen of Oak Bar, Cal., for many courtesies.

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The literature dealing with the ethnology of the Shasta is exceedingly scanty. Except for the brief references by name in a few early books of travel, the following list comprises practically all the more important titles.

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GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

Unlike many of the Indian stocks in California, the Shasta have, almost from the beginning, been known by a distinct and invariable name. The earlier forms — such as Saste, Shaste, Sasty, Shasty, Chasty, Shastl, Shastika — have given place to the form Shasta, which is that now mainly used to designate the Indians of this stock. The origin and meaning of this term (the various forms of which, in spite of the slight differences shown above, are clearly one and the same throughout) are both obscure. So far as my information goes, it is not a term used by the Shasta for themselves, either as a whole or in part, although there is some doubt as to whether or not the term may not have been used to designate a portion of the stock, i.e., that about the eastern portion of Shasta Valley. Its use, however, as such, is recent. It is not a term for the Indians of this stock in the languages of the surrounding stocks, whose names for the people are known, although in use by both Achomā'wi and Atsugē'wi. It is emphatically denied by the Shasta that it is a place-name for any section of the territory occupied by them, and indeed there is some question as to whether it is even a word proper to their language. After persistent inquiry, the only information secured which throws any light on the matter is to the effect that about forty or fifty years ago there was an old man living in Shasta Valley whose personal name was Shastika (Sūstī'ka). He is reported to have been a man of importance; and it is not impossible that the name Shasta came from this Indian, an old and well-known man in the days of my informant's father, who was living at the time of the earliest settlement in this section, — in the '50's. Inasmuch as the suffix *ka* is the regular subjective suffix, we should have Sūstī as the real name of this individual, from which the earlier forms of

Shasty, etc., could easily have been derived. The derivation from the Russian **ЧИСТЫЙ**, meaning "white, clean,"—a term supposed to have been applied by the settlers at Fort Ross to Mount Shasta,—is obviously improbable. The matter is further complicated by the difficulty of clearing up the precise relationships of the 'so-called "Chasta" of Oregon, and of explaining the recurrence of the same term in the name of the Athabascan tribe of the Chasta-Costa of the Oregon coast.

Until recently, the Shasta have been regarded as forming a linguistic stock by themselves, and as being entirely unrelated to any other stock on the continent. Gatschet, however, some fifteen years or more ago, suggested a possible or indeed probable affiliation with the Achomā'wi (Pit River Indians) or Palainihan stock, but did not demonstrate it. The linguistic material collected by the Huntington Expedition has, however, supplied the needed evidence; and the relationship between the two stocks seems now practically certain. A portion of the evidence to this effect has recently been published,¹ and the Shasta may therefore be considered as forming one member of what has been called the Shasta-Achomā'wi stock. This binomial term has now, however, been discarded as undesirable, and has been replaced by Shastan. The entire stock includes, besides the Shasta and Achomā'wi, also the Atsugē'wi, or Hat Creek Indians, together with three small fragments,—the Konomī'hu of Forks of Salmon, the New River Shasta, and the Ōkwa'nūtcu.

The Shasta are known to their neighbors on the east and south by the following terms: Sastī'dji by the Achomā'wi, although the term Nō'mkidji (probably borrowed from the Wintun) was also used; Süstī'dji by the Atsugē'wi; Wai'kenmuk by the Wintun of the McCloud and upper Sacramento. The Ōkwa'nūtcu were known to the Achomā'wi and Atsugē'wi as Yè'ti (from Yèt, the term in use for Mount Shasta) and also as Iqūsadē'wi.

¹ Dixon, *The Shasta-Achomā'wi: A New Linguistic Stock with Four New Dialects* (American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. VII, pp. 213-218).

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.—The area occupied by the Shasta lies partly in California and partly in Oregon, including almost the whole of Siskiyou County in the former, and parts of Jackson and Klamath Counties in the latter State. On the south they were in contact with the Wintun; on the east, with the Achomā'wi and the Lutuā'mi or Klamath Lake Indians; on the north, with the Takelma and the various Athabaskan tribes along the Rogue and Umpqua Rivers; and on the west, with the Athabascans, the Takelma, and the Karok. In more detail the area occupied may be described as follows. Beginning at Mount Shasta, the boundary ran nearly due north, over Goose Nest mountain to the Klamath River, reaching the river a little above the mouth of Jenny Creek. From this point on the river, the rather vague line seems to have swung to the east a little, so as to include within Shasta territory all the head-waters of Jenny Creek, and then to have followed roughly along the divide to Mount Pitt. Here the line turns westward to the Rogue River at the mouth of Little Butte Creek, and thence along Rogue River to Table Rock at the mouth of Stewart River, or, as it is also known, Bear Creek. From this point, the line ran apparently southward, along the divide between the western tributaries of Stewart River and the eastern tributaries of Applegate Creek, swung around the head of the latter, and curved sharply west, following the crest of the Siskiyou to the vicinity of Thompson Creek, where the boundary touched the Klamath again at the village of Ussini. Southward from here, the divide between the western tributaries of Scott River and the eastern tributaries of the Klamath and Salmon Rivers seems to have been the line dividing the Shasta from the Karok and from the two small fragments of the Shastan stock,—the Konomi'hu and the New River Shasta. From the extreme southwestern corner of Siskiyou County the boundary ran east to Mount Shasta again, following approximately the divide between the Trinity and Sacramento Rivers on the south and the Scott and Shasta Rivers on the north.

Concerning a part of this territory—that, namely, within the limits of the State of Oregon—there is still some uncertainty.



According to the best information obtainable, the Rogue River Indians (Athabascans) and the Shasta have long been enemies, and had contended since time immemorial for the Oregon area now claimed by the Shasta. At a period about a hundred years ago, as nearly as could be estimated, the Shasta declare that they finally drove the Rogue River people completely out of the territory in dispute, and that they were themselves in occupancy of it when the white trappers first penetrated to the region. That the Rogue River Indians still claimed the area as theirs, however, is shown by the treaty of Sept. 10, 1853, by which they ceded this section and also a portion of what was, I believe, unquestionably Shasta territory lying within the State of California.¹ That full dependence cannot, however, be placed upon such cessions, is shown, for example, in the cession by the Klamath Lake Indians, in 1851 and again in 1864, of Shasta Valley itself,² an integral part of the Shasta territory, if there is any such. Perhaps the most that can be said at present, in the absence of any information from the side of the Rogue River Indians, is that the ownership of the portion of Oregon claimed by the Shasta was vigorously disputed, and that it is not unlikely that the Shasta were the original possessors.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT. — The region occupied by the Shasta is rugged and mountainous almost throughout, and, except for the immediate valley of the Klamath River, has everywhere an elevation of over eight hundred metres. The portion of Shasta territory lying within California, that which seems unquestionably theirs, divides itself topographically into three sections, comprising respectively the Klamath River Valley, Scott Valley, and Shasta Valley.

The first of these includes the course of the Klamath from near Fall Creek to Indian Creek, a stretch of, roughly, seventy miles. In this part of its course, the river is a rapid stream, flowing in a deep canyon valley, with little level land along its banks, except for the deltas of the larger tributary streams.

¹ Royce, *Indian Land Cessions* (Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1896-97, Part 2, pp. 778, 789, and Plates CXV, CLVIII).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 788, 789, 834, 835, and Plates CXIV, CXV

The climate, like that of most of the Shasta area, is characterized by hot summers (often with frequent thunderstorms) and moderately cold winters, in which there is generally, upon the mountains at least, a very heavy snowfall. In the early days the river teemed with salmon and other fish, game was abundant in the mountains, and there was a fairly large supply of acorns and other vegetable foods.

Scott Valley, the second of the sections, is one of that class of broad, flat-floored mountain valleys that are found especially well developed in the northern Sierras. Some eighteen or twenty miles in length, and five or six in width, watered by a considerable stream, and surrounded by high, rugged mountains, it formed an almost ideal spot for an Indian community. As in the region along the Klamath River, fish and game were abundant, acorns were to be had in considerable quantities, and pine-nuts and other vegetable foods added to the general food-supply.

Shasta Valley is considerably larger than Scott Valley, but, on the whole, far less uniform in its character. Much of the southern end of the valley is covered by old lava-flows, or small volcanic cones, interspersed with swamps. The central and smoother portions are more favorable in their character, but are treeless, and broken up by many small buttes. The heat in this portion of Shasta Valley in summer is often great. Game was originally abundant here and in the mountains round about.

Corresponding roughly to these three topographical divisions were, apparently, three sections or groups of the Shasta. The three divisions were distinguished by slight differences of language and custom, and governmentally each formed more or less of a unit. The Klamath River Shasta were known most commonly by the term *Kamma'twa*, although they were also called *Wirūhikwai'iruk!a*; the Scott Valley people were known as *Ki'katsik* or *Irūai'tsu*. The former term seems to include sometimes also the Shasta Valley people; and the latter refers more particularly to the northern end of Scott Valley, *Irū'ai* being the name for Indian Creek. That portion of the stock occupying Shasta Valley was com-

monly spoken of as Ahōtirē'itsu (from Ahōtidä''ē, "Shasta Valley"). The Oregon Shasta were known as Kahō'sadi.

The Shasta seem to have had a considerable number all together of small villages or settlements; and the names and locations of these, so far as known, are shown — together with other geographical names and the divisions of the stock — on the map, Plate LIX.

HISTORY. — The first Europeans to come in contact with the Shasta in their own habitat were probably the adventurous fur-hunters of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. Scott River was known to them as Beaver River, and was much frequented as a wintering place. One of the earliest references to them is their mention by Gairdner¹ in the list of tribes obtained by him from Michel la Framboise in 1835.

Old men now living recall stories of the excitement consequent on the arrival of these first Europeans, and still tell of their fringed buckskin clothes, and of the long knives they brought to trade. All agree that the strangers came down the Klamath River from the east.

Lieutenant Emmons and his party, who, as members of the United States Exploring Expedition, made the overland trip from the Columbia River to San Francisco in 1841, are almost the first to speak of the Shasta from personal experience, but the account given² is very brief. Thus it was not until the discovery of gold in the region, in 1850, that the section was much visited.

The sudden flood of whites brought into the Shasta country by the gold-finds had its usual sad result. Yreka (named for Wai'ika, as the Shasta call Mount Shasta) was settled, and became a bustling, roaring mining-town; and we may read in Joaquin Miller's "Life among the Modocs" how cruelly the Indians of that region and along the Klamath River were treated. The Shasta played quite an important part in the so-called "Rogue River wars" of 1853-54, and 1855-56, bands

¹ Gairdner, Notes on the Indian Tribes on the Upper and Lower Columbia (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XI, p. 256).

² United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. V, pp. 239, 240.

from as far as Scott and Shasta Valleys coming north across the Siskiyou to aid their Rogue River brethren.¹ In this conflict, however, as in many other of the Indian troubles in this section, the whites were as much to blame, if not more so, as the Indians themselves. This war — together with unprovoked murder, and wholesale massacre, disease, and the famine consequent on the destruction of the food-supply — produced a rapid diminution in numbers, till there remains to-day, all told, probably less than twoscore widely scattered full-blood members of the Shasta.

Except for four individuals at Siletz, one or two at Grand Ronde Reservation in Oregon, and one woman at Yakima, all the Shasta now known to be living are scattered throughout their old territory. A few are at Yreka, much mixed with Wintun; there are several in Scott Valley; and perhaps a score or so at various points along the Klamath River. In addition to these full-bloods, there are quite a number of half-breeds. The census figures relating to this region are of little value, as the majority of the individuals enumerated belong to the Yurok, or perhaps to the Lutuā'mi stocks. Estimates of the population before 1850 are very varied. De Mofras² in 1840-42 estimated the Saste at four hundred; Emmons,³ in 1841, at five hundred. McKee⁴ in 1851 secured information as to fifty villages, from which, allowing sixty persons as an average, he obtained three thousand as the total number of the Shasta. From the numbers mentioned in the accounts of the Rogue River war, however, there does not seem to be any warrant for assuming so large a population, and I should doubt if there were really more than two thousand of the Shasta at the time when the first European contact occurred.

MIGRATION. — No tradition has been thus far secured as to any migration. The Shasta regard themselves as having

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, Chaps. VII, XII, XV, XVI; also *Report on Indian Hostilities in Oregon and Washington*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc., Vol. XI, No. 93.

² Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du Territoire de l'Oregon*, etc., Vol. II, p. 335. Paris, 1844.

³ *United States Exploring Expedition*, Vol. V.

⁴ Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects*, etc., Vol. III, p. 171.

been created in the region they now occupy, and have no knowledge of any other area. In this they are in accord with the majority of the California tribes. Some evidence, however, is given by their general culture, which makes it not impossible that they are in origin an Oregonian stock.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

MANUFACTURES. *Work in Stone.*—The implements of stone made by the Shasta comprise knives, arrow-points, scrapers, pipe-tips, pestles, and soapstone vessels. Mortars and stone pipes, while known, were apparently not made.

The Shasta were fortunate in having in their vicinity a considerable abundance of obsidian, from which knives, arrow-points, and scrapers of the best quality could be made. The great majority of these implements were therefore of this substance, and were well made. Knives (Fig. 68) seem often to have been used without hafting of any kind, although sometimes a piece of buckskin was wrapped about the end. Arrow-points were made by

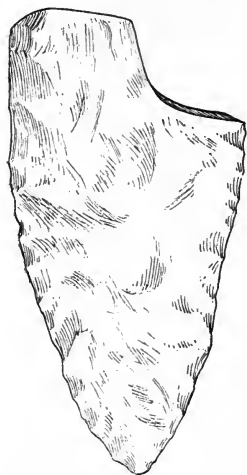


Fig. 68 ($\frac{31}{16}$). Obsidian Knife. Length, 8 cm.



Fig. 69 ($\frac{13}{16}$). Fragment of a Stone Pipe. Length, 7 cm.

holding the flake or piece of obsidian in a split stick, as in a vise, one end of the stick being held under the left arm. A piece of sharpened or split antler was used in flaking the point. Scrapers were very often made of red obsidian, although deer-ulnæ were, on the whole, more commonly used than stone scrapers. Pipe-tips were either of serpentine, or other fine-grained stone. They were ground laboriously into shape, the hole being pierced by pounding

with a piece of antler, aided by sand. What is apparently a portion of a pipe wholly of stone was picked up on the surface near Honolulu, on the Klamath River (Fig. 69). It is, however, different from the type of pipe used by the Shasta, and was regarded by them as mysterious, and probably endowed with great magic power. It is nicely finished on the exterior.

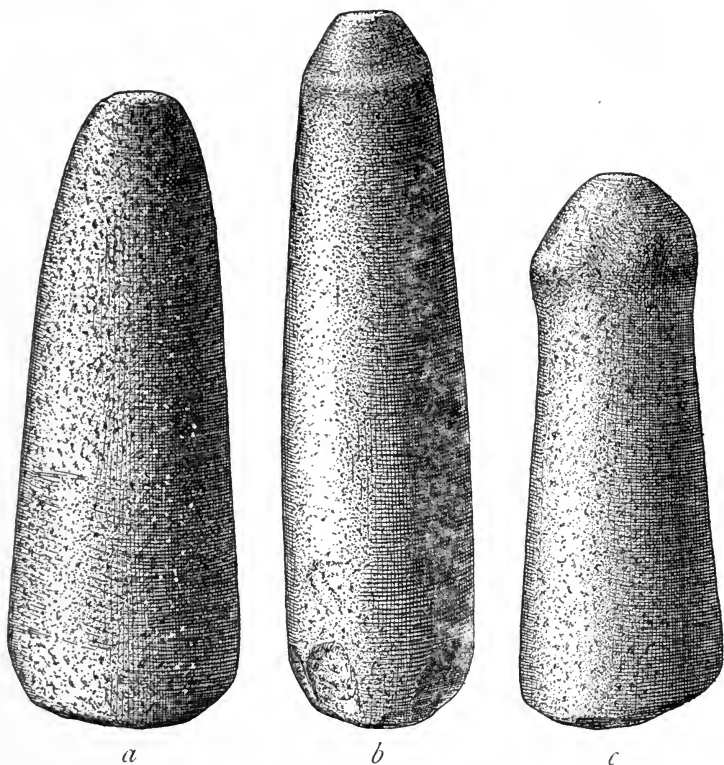


Fig. 70 (*a* $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$, *b* $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$, *c* $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{2}{3}$). Stone Pestles. Length of *a*, 17 cm.; maximum circumference, 20 cm.

Pestles (Fig. 70) for acorn-pounding were generally cylindrical, and from twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. In many cases they were well made, some having a slight knob at the upper end, as shown in *c*. Others, again, were rough and irregular. Soapstone vessels were considerably used for

holding fish, fish-oil, etc. They were shallow oval platters, not over thirty or forty centimetres long, and were pecked and scraped out, and into shape, by means of harder stones. Few, if any, of these vessels are to be found to-day.

According to the unanimous statements of the Shasta, mortars were not used by them. Within the area occupied, however, mortars are found, in some places in large numbers. They occur on the surface, and also buried to depths of several feet in the gravel or soil. Large numbers of these are to be found in several of the village stores in the region, and date from the earlier mining-days of the '50's and '60's. In general, these mortars are rather less finished than the mortars found in the Sacramento Valley and Sierra region, and some are taller, and more cylindrical in shape. The feeling of the Shasta in regard to these mortars is a very strong one. They are considered as very mysterious objects, are never touched except by the shamans, and, if one is found or seen at any place, it is given a wide berth. The mortars are sometimes regarded as of themselves powerful Axē'ki, or "pains," although in other cases it is thought that they merely indicate the proximity of an Axē'ki's dwelling, which may be some near-by ledge or pinnacle of rock. The Axē'ki, as will be explained later, are spirits who are the guardians and familiars of the shamans, and who aid them in curing or causing disease. Mortars are supposed to have the power of independent motion, and to be continually moving about the country. One day a mortar will be seen here, the next some distance away, travelling every day several feet. In some cases, mortars are said to have power to change their shape. Pestles, in particular small pestles, were similarly regarded. Those feared did not seem to differ in any respect from those in common use, but were, nevertheless, thought to be very dangerous objects if found lying about, and were made use of by shamans in some of their nefarious practices. A pestle of this sort (found and not made), unless it was placed on solid rock, would sink into the ground in a few days, and would then travel about under the surface, and reappear at some other place far away. Stone pipes

were, like these mortars and pestles, occasionally found, and had an equally bad reputation. They might be handled only by shamans, and are said to have been eagerly sought for by them for evil purposes.

This complete absence of the use of mortars; the beliefs in connection with certain pestles and pipes; the fear felt of all these objects, and the consideration of them as intelligent, supernatural beings, with the power of locomotion—would seem to indicate that the mortars found here were not made by the Shasta, nor by their ancestors within traditional times. A somewhat similar state of affairs was shown to exist in the case of the Maidu,¹ although there, the feeling of fear and superstitious reverence was confined to the mortars alone, and was not as pronounced as among the Shasta.

Work in Wood, Bone, and Shell.—Except for their bows, the Shasta used wood for but few implements, the most



Fig. 71 (3188). Wooden Spoon. Length, 19 cm.

important of which were spoons, pipes, and mush-paddles. Spoons (Fig. 71) were made of both wood and horn. In type they are closely similar to those used by the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa, although, as a rule, they were less decorated by carving. The pipes (Fig. 72) used here were of the same

¹ See pp. 136, 137 of this volume.

character as those made by the three tribes just mentioned living lower down the river. The form was the usual tubular, trumpet-shaped one, varying from fifteen to twenty centimetres in length. The pipes are often so regularly and beautifully made as to suggest machine-turning. The method of boring the piece of wood from which the pipe was to be made was exceedingly ingenious, if we may believe the account given by several informants independently. As described, the method was applicable to only one variety of wood (unidentified),—a variety which was quite hard, yet possessed a small, somewhat porous pith or heart-wood. A number of sticks of this wood were, so it is said, placed on end in a dish of salmon-oil, first on one end, and then on the other. By this means, the pithy, porous heart-wood absorbed considerable oil, much more than did the remainder of the wood. This central core of heart-wood was then dug out at one end, as deeply as could be, with a fine-pointed bone awl. Then a small grub or worm, infesting the dried salmon as preserved in the houses, was placed in the excavation, and this was then sealed with a bit of pitch. The grub thus imprisoned is declared to have eaten the oil-soaked pith or heart-wood, following the core, from one end to the other, finally eating its way out at the opposite end. Many of the grubs died, or did not take kindly to the oil-soaked pith; but, out of a dozen or more prepared sticks hung up under the roof during the winter, one or two were, it is claimed, generally found bored in the spring.

Owing to the rapids and swift current of the Klamath, and the impermanent nature of the other streams (which often nearly dry up in the summer) the Shasta made little in the way of canoes. Occasionally they obtained them from the Karok or Yurok, but they rarely made them themselves.



Fig. 72 (1689 A).
Tobacco Pipe.
Length, 15 cm.



When made, they were dug out from sugar-pine logs, as a rule, and were crude imitations of the well-known, square-ended type characteristic of the lower river.

Bone and antler were used for scrapers, awls, wedges, arrow-flakers, and salmon-gigs. The deer-ulna or elk-rib was most commonly the form of scraper used in the preparation of hides. Awls and basket-needles were small and neat. Elk-horn wedges were used for splitting logs, being driven by stone mauls held in the hand without handles. Arrow-flakers of split or sharpened deer-antler were used generally without handles. The salmon-gig (Fig. 73) was of the usual type, but now, as a rule, is made of nails.

The chief use of shell was for ornament, and, in the form of beads, as currency. Women's skirts were elaborately decorated with beads, pieces of abalone, and dentalia. The disk-shaped beads of the type so common in the more southern parts of the State were not so much used here. The abalone and dentalia were ob-



Fig. 73 (3188a).
Salmon-gig.
Length of gig,
10 cm.



Fig. 74 (3188a). Necklace.
Total length, 59 cm.

tained in trade with the tribes of the lower river, and also from the Rogue River people in Oregon. Dentalia were much used as currency. Abalone and other shells

were much used, particularly for necklaces, ear-ornaments, etc. As currency, dentalia were divided into two classes, — those measuring less than the distance from the base of the little finger to the crease between the second and third joints, and those measuring more than this distance. The value of the latter was twice that of the former, and they are now regarded as equalling a dollar. These larger dentalia were often decorated by incised lines, or the addition of tiny red feathers (Fig. 74). Dentalia of the large variety were generally strung on small cords, and, together with the smaller variety, were kept in small cylindrical baskets provided with a cover fitting, it is said, inside the rim. These baskets were finely made, and were carefully kept in small buckskin bags. Horn purses like those used by the Hupa were rarely found here. Disk beads, kept in strings, were used to some extent as currency also; the unit of measure being the length of a string stretching from hand to hand while the arms are extended at full length on each side, the centre of the string hanging to the navel. While speaking of currency, mention might be made here of the use of woodpecker-scalps (Fig. 75) for this purpose also. These were carefully dried and prepared, and, as in the case of the dentalia, were of two grades, the scalp of the large woodpecker being worth twice that of a small one. They were kept in rolls of buckskin to preserve them flat and unruffled.

Preparation of Hides. — Deerskins were dressed and prepared by the Shasta in the usual manner. After soaking, the hair was removed, and the hide grained by scraping with a stone or bone scraper, the hide being laid on a slanting post set in the ground. Deer-brains were used to soften the skin, and, following this, the hides were well smoked and sunned. The skins were finally whitened by rubbing with white clay, and were, when finished, fine, soft, and of very good quality.

The Shasta made, they say, from rawhide a receptacle somewhat in the shape of the ordinary conical pack-basket. The rim of the affair was of wood, over which the rawhide was lapped and sewed. It was carried on the back like a pack-basket, and served for gathering and carrying grass-

seed and small roots. The seed-beater used here seems often also to have been made in part of rawhide, this being stretched over a framework of basketry. Both these seed-beaters and pack-baskets have gone out of use.



Fig. 75 (3199B). Woodpecker-Scalp used as Currency. Length, 10 cm.

Cordage and Netting.—Cord and rope were made from the wild hemp (*Apocynum* sp.) and from a variety of grass as yet undetermined. The nets used were chiefly pocket-shaped, and were set up and used as described under hunting and fishing. Seine-nets were used to some extent also. The manufacture of nets was in the hands of the men. The cord was kept on a netting-shuttle similar to those in use among the Hupa.¹ Mesh-measures of the type used lower down the river were also formerly in use.

The manufacture of the netted cap, so characteristic of the Maidu and other stocks of Central California, seems to be lacking here. It is said, however, that the Shasta Valley people did make and wear these caps, obviously in imitation of those worn by the Wintun. There is also no trace, apparently, of the "kiseaqot," or netted head-decoration worn by the Hupa² and other Indians of the lower Klamath. Netted sacks were also lacking, it seems; although in the vicinity of Seiad Valley, where the Shasta abutted on the Karok, a few were to be found.

Basketry and Weaving.—Basketry would appear to have

¹ Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa* (University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 1, p. 35, and Fig. 2, Plate 14).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 84, and Plate 7.

been for a long period less important as an art than it was among the people of either Central or Northwestern California; and in earlier times, as now, the Shasta relied to a great extent on other tribes for their baskets. At the present day, scarcely a single basket is made by the Shasta; and all that they use, or sell to collectors, are bought from the Karok and other lower Klamath peoples.

The materials formerly used for basketry by the Shasta were various. For the ribs, or radial elements, they generally used the hazel (*Corylus californica*) or the willow (*Salix* sp.), whose roots, as well as whose twigs, were employed, the former, it is said, much more than the latter. The roots were always used to make the outer ring on the bottom of the basket. The twining-element was almost exclusively the root of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.). The root was cut or dug up in pieces thirty centimetres or more in length, and from five to ten centimetres in diameter. These pieces were first baked and then steamed, after which they were carefully split into thin sheets from four to six centimetres wide. In this form they were preserved, and, when wanted for use, were again boiled and steamed, and split into finer strips. The strips thus prepared were dyed black (by an infusion of acorn-shells) or red (with alder-bark). In the latter case, the bark was chewed by the woman, who meanwhile passed the strip of pine-root back and forth through her mouth. This twining-element was overlaid, in caps and in the finer sorts of basketry, with basket-grass (*Xerophyllum tenax* Nutt.) or with the black, shining stem of the maidenhair-fern (*Adiantum pedatum* L.).

The types and forms (Fig. 76, *a-g*) of baskets as used among the Shasta, if we may judge from the baskets collected, were very similar to, indeed practically identical with, those used by the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa. There were large storage-baskets (*f, g*), smaller cooking-baskets (*c, d*), platter or tray baskets (*a*), and small trinket-baskets (*b*). Burden or pack baskets of conical shape (*e*) were also in use; and these, together with many of the tray-baskets, were of the open-work style of make. Occasionally these were finished

by a band of the ordinary closer twining (Plate LXVII, Fig. 2).

Owing to the very considerable doubt as to the real provenance of most of the baskets secured, and to the possibility that the original Shasta technique may have, in the case of the baskets secured at Siletz, suffered a change from contact with the Oregonian Athabascans, a minute discussion

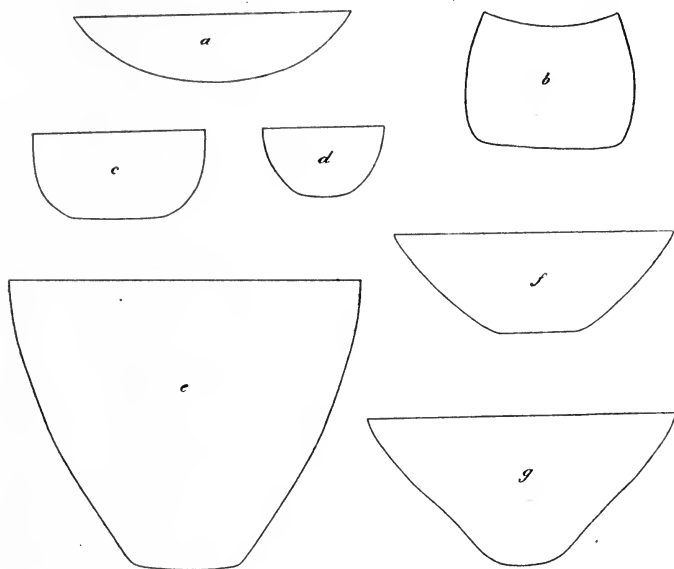


Fig. 76 (*a* 3122, *b* 3521, *c* 3520, *d* 3525, *e* 3123, *f* 3125, *g* 3120). Outlines of Shasta Basket-forms.

of the technique seems inadvisable. This is the more true, in that all the baskets obtained from the Shasta in California agree in almost every particular with those from the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok, so fully described by Goddard¹ and Kroeber.² Like them, they are exclusively of the twined variety, the simple twining being the form most frequently

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-48.

² Kroeber, *Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California* (University of California Publications. American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 109-116).

employed, although three-strand twining occurs on the bottoms of baskets, and occasionally in a narrow band near the rim. As in the baskets of the northwestern type, the warps are, in the open-work baskets and occasionally in other baskets, sometimes crossed just below the edge (Plates LX, Fig. 1; LXVIII, Fig. 1; LXX, Fig. 2).

On the bottoms of baskets, as a rule, groups of from three to five warps are included between the woof-strands, the number decreasing to a single warp when the upward curve of the

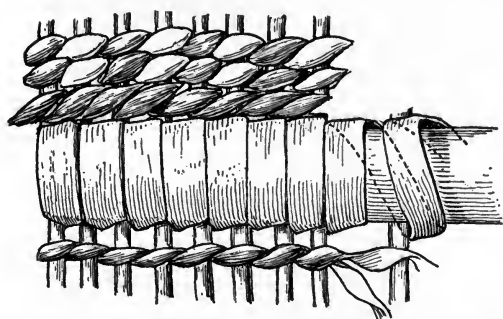


Fig. 77 (⁵¹⁸⁹). Strengthening-rod in Mortar-basket, Plate LXVI, Fig. 2.

basket is reached. On the mortar-basket the same strengthening-rods are used as among the Hupa and the Karok, and in the same manner¹ (Fig. 77). Here, as well as there, the designs are produced by overlaying, the method followed being a double overlay. Among these supposed Shasta baskets, as well as among those of the northwestern type, open-work basket-trays and pack-baskets are common, and in both these regions we find the method of ornamentation by means of dyed warps (Plates LXVIII, Fig. 1, and LXX, Figs. 1 and 2).² In the close-twined baskets from Siletz, a double warp is used instead of the single warp, as in California. Whether this is due to difference of material, or to the influence of another technique, it is impossible to say, in the absence of basketry collections from that portion

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, Plate 24, Fig. 1.

² Kroeber, *op. cit.*, Plate 18, Figs. 1 and 3

of Oregon. The edges of the cooking and tray baskets obtained in California, with one exception, are unfinished, except by cutting off the warps closely, as in the basketry of the region

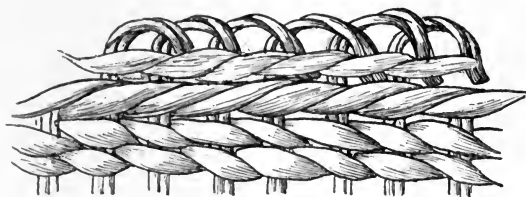


Fig. 78 ($\frac{80}{884}$). Detail of Edge on Basket, Plate LXII, Fig. 3.

to the west. One basket, however (Plate LXII, Fig. 3), shows an edge in which the warps are turned over, as in

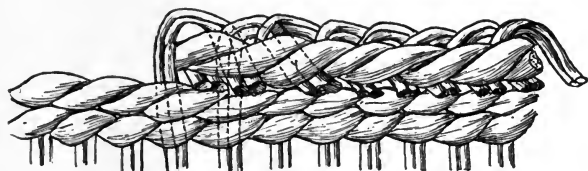


Fig. 79 ($\frac{80}{887}$). Detail of Edge on Basket, Plate LXII, Fig. 2.

Fig. 78. All baskets secured at Siletz, from the Shasta there, have a somewhat similar type of edge (Fig. 79). All open-work

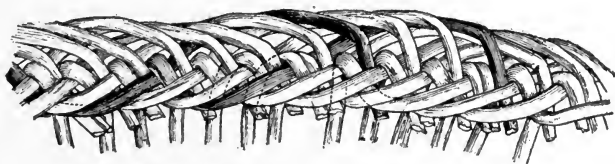


Fig. 80 ($\frac{81}{888}$). Detail of Edge on Basket, Plate LXIX, Fig. 1.

pack-baskets and mortar-baskets also have the warp-rods bent over and twined in, as shown in Fig. 80.

The buckskin fringes on the women's skirts are wrapped

for the greater part of their length with grass (*Xerophyllum tenax* Nutt.). This wrapping is shown in Fig. 81. The technique is the same as that employed by the Hupa.

Mats of reeds (Plate LXXI) were made by twining woof-strands about the reed warps, every three or four inches, doubling these at the sides, and finishing the ends of the mat in a braid, as shown in Fig. 82.

Feather-Work. — As compared with the Maidu and the Indians of the Central Californian area, or even with the Hupa, the Shasta use of feathers was undeveloped. In place of the many varieties of feather ornaments used in ceremonials by the majority of Californian Indians, the Shasta had but few, and these were rather simple. They were the feather band, worn either about the head, the wrists, or the shoulders; single decorated feathers, generally worn in the hair, or held in the hand; and single or grouped feathers as fringes or pendants. Occasionally, also, scalps of woodpeckers were used, glued on a strip of buckskin.

Feather bands were in this section, as a rule, single (see Figs. 84, 85, 86, and 87), and were made in quite a different manner from those in use among the Maidu. The technique of the attachment of the feathers is shown in Fig. 83. These bands, as used for young girls in the puberty dance, were made of bluejay-feathers (Fig. 84), and formed a strip from ten to fifteen centimetres wide. The wrist-bands (Figs. 86, 87), made usually, on the other hand, of yellowhammer-feathers, were narrower, sometimes with the addition of one or two bits of down, as in Fig. 89. The shoulder-bands (see Fig. 85) also were of yellowhammer-feathers.

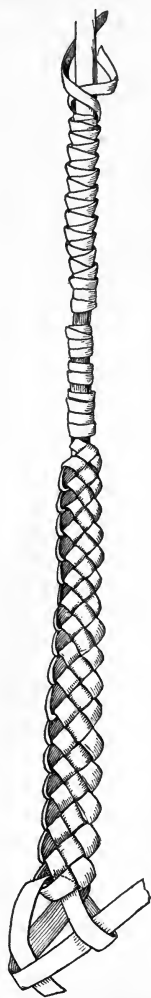


Fig. 81 ($\frac{50}{3178}$).
Detail of Fringe
on Woman's Apron,
Fig. 92.

The single decorated feathers (Fig. 88) consisted of a single long feather cut on either side in zigzags, about the base of which, and sometimes extending up for fully half the length of the feather, was a mass of soft fluffy feathers.

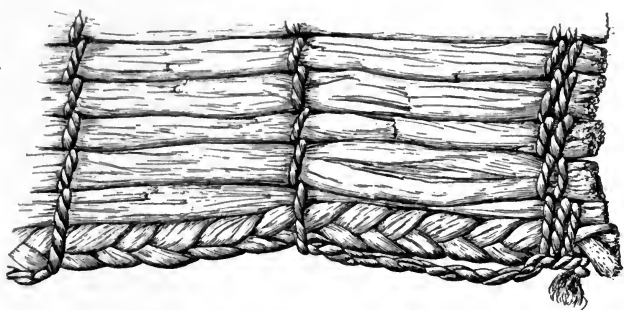


Fig. 82 ($\frac{88}{3210}$). Detail of Mat, Plate LXXI.

In addition to the types of feather ornaments and feather-work above described, there were others in which feathers constituted but a portion of the decoration, as, for instance, on the head-bands worn by shamans. In these, the uses of the feather are, (1) erect feathers attached to the base of the head-band, (2) pendant feathers or feather tassels, and (3) stiff feather pompons.

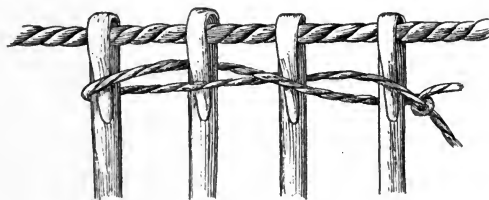


Fig. 83 ($\frac{88}{3211}$). Detail of Feather Attachment on Feather Band, Fig. 84.

An example of the first is shown in Fig. 89. These are fastened in position by two cords which pass through the head-band,—one through the quill near the end, the other around, just below the web. Pendant feathers were used singly (attached to the ends of lines, or at intervals along a

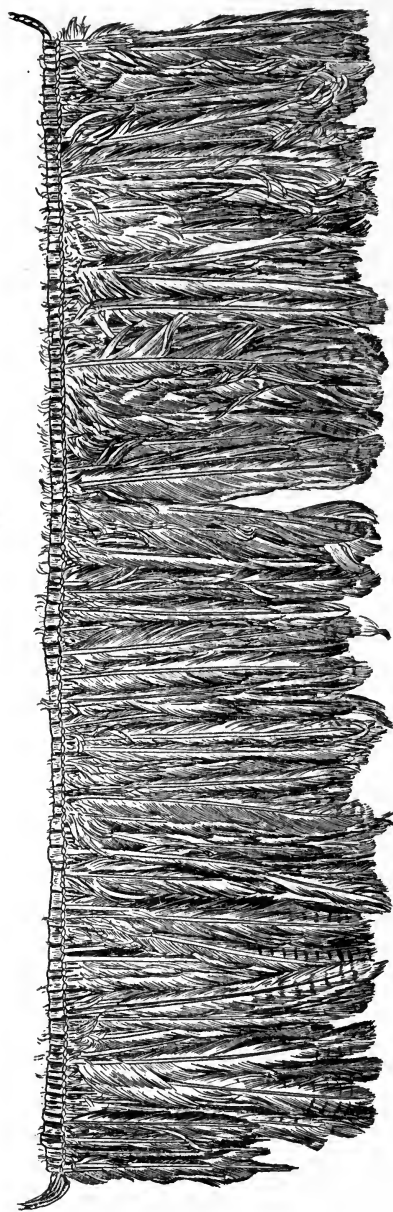


Fig. 84 (⁸⁰/₁₇₁). Feather Band used in Puberty Dance. Length, 43 cm.

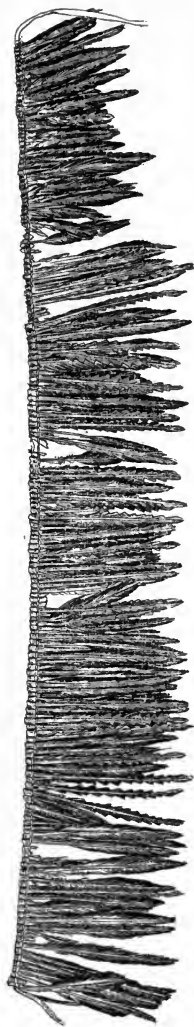


Fig. 85 (⁸⁰/₁₈₈). Feather Band. Length, 84 cm.

line) or in groups, forming what might be called tassels (Fig. 90). In many cases a feather, or more commonly two feathers, out of a group, and also single pendant feathers, had down or a small bit of fluffy feather attached to their bases. Both feathers and down were attached to the line by winding with thread.

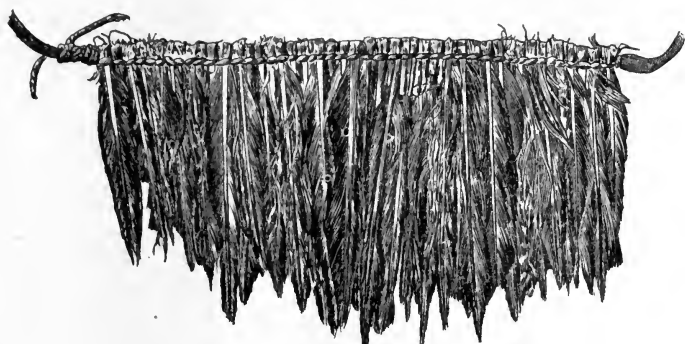


Fig. 86 (3188 A). Wrist-band, Plain. Length, 16 cm.

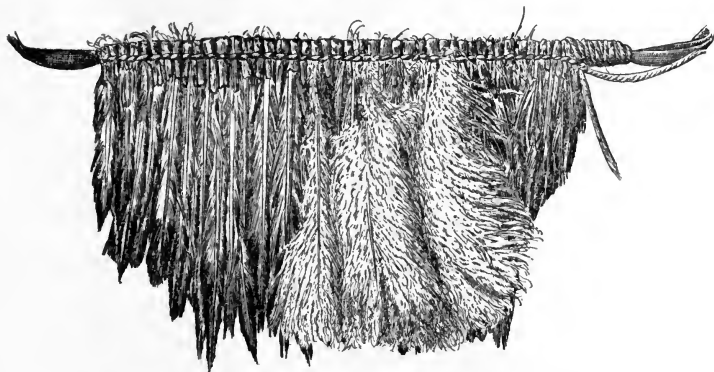


Fig. 87 (3188 B). Wrist-band Decorated with Down. Length, 16 cm.

Stiff pompons were made usually of yellowhammer-feathers. The feathers were attached to a cord, as shown in Fig. 83, and the resulting feather strip tightly coiled on itself, forming a brush-like pompon, which was affixed in a horizontal position to the middle of the forehead-band, as shown in Fig. 91.

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT. — The clothing in use by the Shasta was apparently more elaborate than that in use among the Indians of Central California, and it approximated the type worn by the Hupa and other Indians of the lower Klamath. There would seem to have been a little variation in their dress, although the differences were very slight.

The men's costume consisted of moccasins, leggings, breechclout, and, at times, a shirt. The moccasins were of buckskin, sewed with a single straight seam up the front, and had a heavy outer sole of bear or elk hide. The winter moccasin differed from the summer one in having the buckskin cut out on the sole, the bear-hide outer sole having the fur left on, and this, being turned inside, brought the foot in direct contact with the warm fur. In other cases, the winter



Fig. 88 (1897 A). Feather Ornament. Height, 50 cm.

moccasins were simply made larger than those worn in summer, and the foot was kept warm by wrapping with squirrel or wild-cat skins, or by stuffing the moccasin with the long black moss that hangs from the trees. The seams of moccasins were often painted red. The leggings, which were of buckskin, reached, so it is said, from the ankle to the hip, and were held up by a belt passing through straps or loops at their upper end. The leggings were often fringed and beaded by the more wealthy. The shirt seems to have been often little more than a deer-

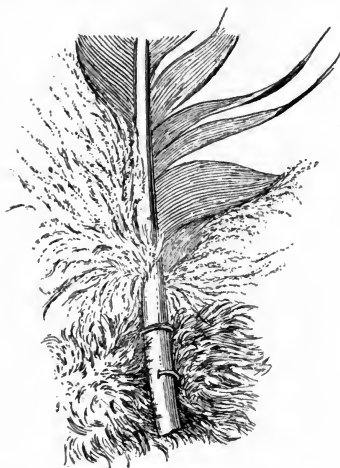


Fig. 89 (x8893). Erect Feather Attachment.

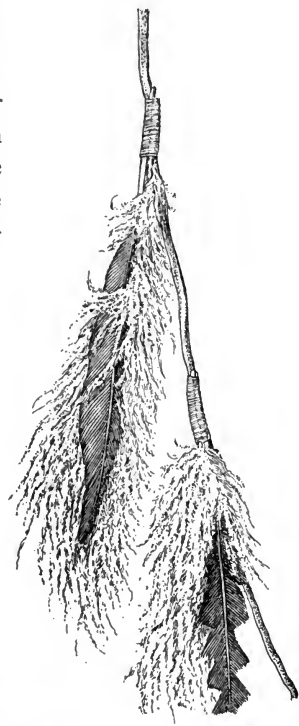


Fig. 90 (x8895). Detail of Feather Tassels.

skin thrown over the shoulders, although it is declared that a regular shirt of dressed buckskin, with short sleeves, was sometimes worn. These shirts also had fringe at the seams. During the summer, at least, the men went without any covering for the head.

The women's dress, as formerly worn, is described as consisting of moccasins; two buckskin skirts; a seed, pine-nut, or grass apron; a sleeveless shirt; and a basket-cap. The

moccasins were similar to those worn by the men. The buckskin skirts were of two types, one (being plain) consisting of a simple buckskin wrapped around the loins from in front, and meeting, or nearly meeting, behind. The other skirt was of buckskin, deeply fringed on both sides, the fringe being covered, as a rule, with braided grass-work, and having shell pendants, beads, pine-nuts, etc., attached in profusion. This ornamental skirt was doubled or folded, and put on from behind, and met, or nearly met, in front, and was worn over the simple, plain skirt which meets at the back. These two skirts are very similar to (almost identical, in fact, with) those worn by the Hupa and other lower Klamath Indians. In wealth of ornamentation, however, the Shasta skirts, as a rule, fell behind those from nearer the sea. Of course, these elaborate skirts were not worn by the women constantly, but were donned for special occasions only. In addition to these two buckskin skirts, the women are said also to have worn a third garment (in the form of a narrow apron) filling the space, or covering it, where the ornamental back-skirt comes together in front. These aprons (Fig. 92) were made simply of long fringes filled with pine-nuts or other seeds, the fringe-strands being also often covered with the characteristic braided covering of grass.¹ These aprons were sometimes double, as in the figure, one being worn in front and one behind, with no other clothing. By the poorer people, or in summer-time, a simple grass



Fig. 91 ($\frac{1}{2}$ life). Detail of Feather Pom-pom. Height, 12 cm.

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, Plate 8.

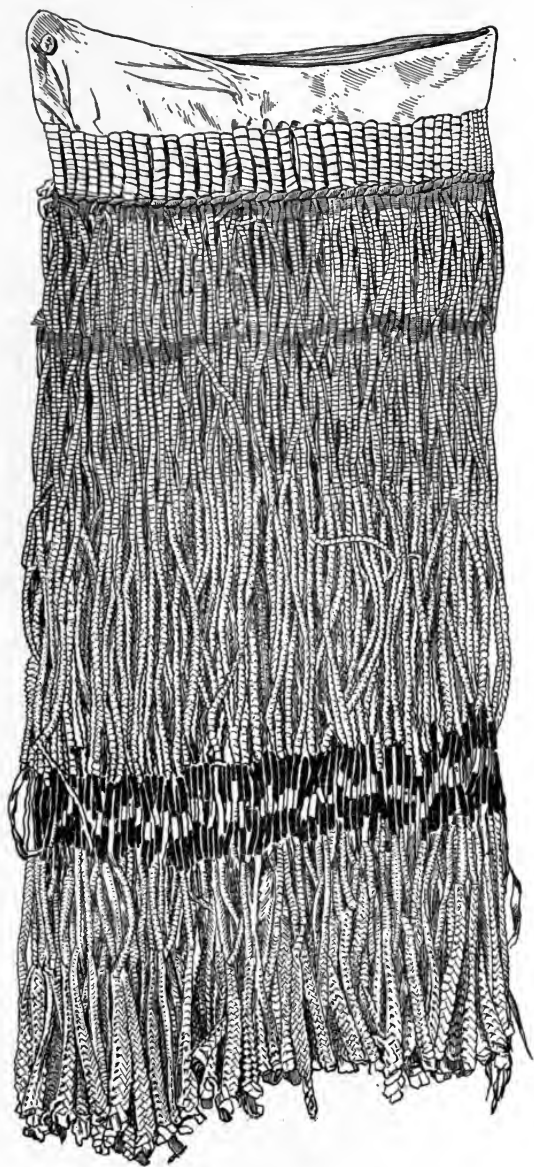


Fig. 92 (3179). Woman's Apron. Length, 50 cm.; width, 24 cm.

fringe was worn in this same way. The shirt, or upper garment, seems to have been much like the men's, except for the lack of sleeves. It was not commonly worn. The basket-cap was constantly worn. It was of the hemi-

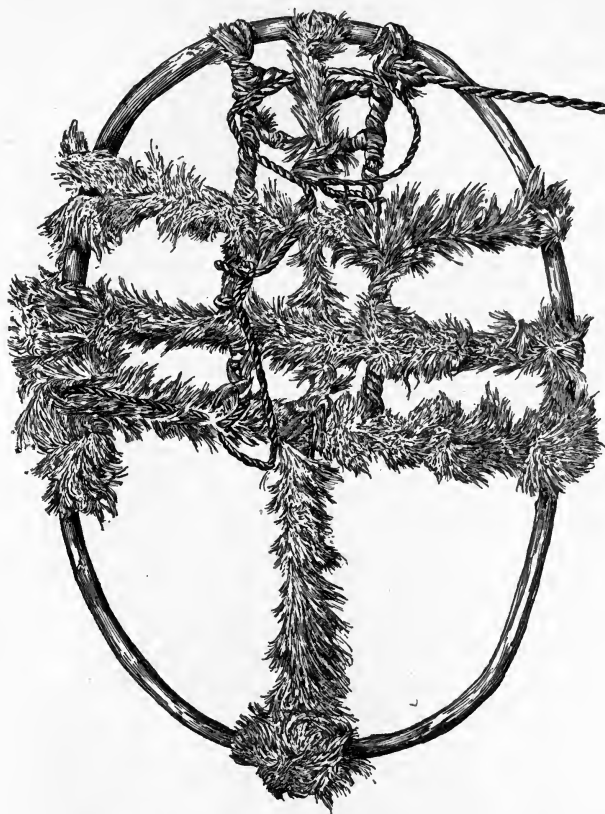


Fig. 93 (1884). Snow-shoe. Length, 48 cm.; width, 35 cm.

spherical shape, similar to those of the Indians of the lower Klamath.¹ Those made by the Shasta themselves were simpler and cruder than those obtained from the down-river people, and for the most part the Shasta relied on caps obtained from them in trade.

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, Plates 5, 15, 75, 76.



The hair of the men was allowed to grow long, and, as a rule, was gathered on top of the head, and fastened there by means of a long bone pin. At other times, it was allowed to hang loose. The women, on the other hand, gathered the hair in a queue at each ear, and wrapped or tied it with buckskin or fur string, allowing the two queues to hang down in front of the shoulders.

Snow-shoes (Fig. 93) were worn by the Shasta in winter, to a considerable extent. These were usually made, it seems, of deer-hide with the hair left on, and differed in the stringing from those of the Maidu. The shoes used by the Shasta had three transverse thongs, with three running at right angles to these, only one of which, however, continued all the way across the shoe, the other two being attached to the three cross-thongs.

Body decoration among the Shasta was not much developed. Painting was but little used, except by shamans and by those who were going to war. Red, blue, yellow, white, and black were used for these occasions, the two latter colors being those most used in war. The colored paints were obtained mainly from different clays or earths in various parts of the territory occupied by the stock, although a red paint was also obtained from a species of fungus growing on fir-trees, and a yellow from the spores of a species of puff-ball, and also from the pollen of the hazel, pine, etc. The paints were applied with the finger, and chiefly to the upper parts of the body, in dots and lines, or solid masses.

Tattooing as a means of decoration was confined practically to the women. The ornamentation was applied to the chin only, and consisted of three broad vertical marks. In some cases, narrower lines were put in between the broad ones, or the outer lines were prolonged slightly above the corners of the mouth. Notched or saw-tooth lines were not used, nor were lines ever made on the cheeks or forehead. The tattooing was done when the girl was about ten or twelve years of age. The instrument used was a small, sharp flake of obsidian. The operator was in all cases an old woman who made tattooing her regular trade, and who was paid for

the work, when done, by the father of the girl. With the sharp flake, shallow parallel cuts were made close together, and then the coloring-material, either charcoal or blue-clay, was rubbed in. The whole chin was tattooed at once, and, unless the lines were not dark enough, was not gone over again. Throughout the night on which the tattooing was done, the girl was not allowed to sleep much, and whatever she dreamed was bound to come true. Her dreams were always told to her mother. Men generally had a few short lines tattooed on their hands and arms, not for decoration, but to serve as measures for dentalia, beads, etc.

Ornaments worn consisted chiefly of beads and shells. The common disk-shaped white bead and small shells were much used for necklaces, ear-pendants, etc. Abalone was also used to some extent, although not as commonly as lower down the river. Pine-nuts were often used for necklaces, as in Fig. 94. Feathers were occasionally stuck in the ears and nose (perforated for that purpose), or long dentalia were worn sometimes in the latter orifice, and pendant in groups from the ears.

A peculiar type of belt (Fig. 95) was worn by women at times. The belt is formed of a coil of fine hair braids. Formerly these were of human hair, but now they are usually of horse-hair. This coil is flattened in the central portion, and held in this position by a zigzag intertwining of narrow buckskin thongs. At the ends, the coil is gathered into a round loop, closely wound, and beaded. To the belt are attached abalone disks or pendants, small shells, beads, or elk-teeth. My informant was not clear as to the early uses of such belts, which now seem to be worn chiefly for ornament; but it is not unlikely that in origin they were similar to the mourning-belts made by the Achomá'wi widows or widowers, of the hair cut off in mourning.

DWELLINGS AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS. — The Shasta were accustomed to build two sorts of houses, differing considerably in construction and use. These were the dwelling-house (ŭ'mma) and the sweat or big house (ō'kwa'ŭmma). The dwelling house was occupied only during the winter months,

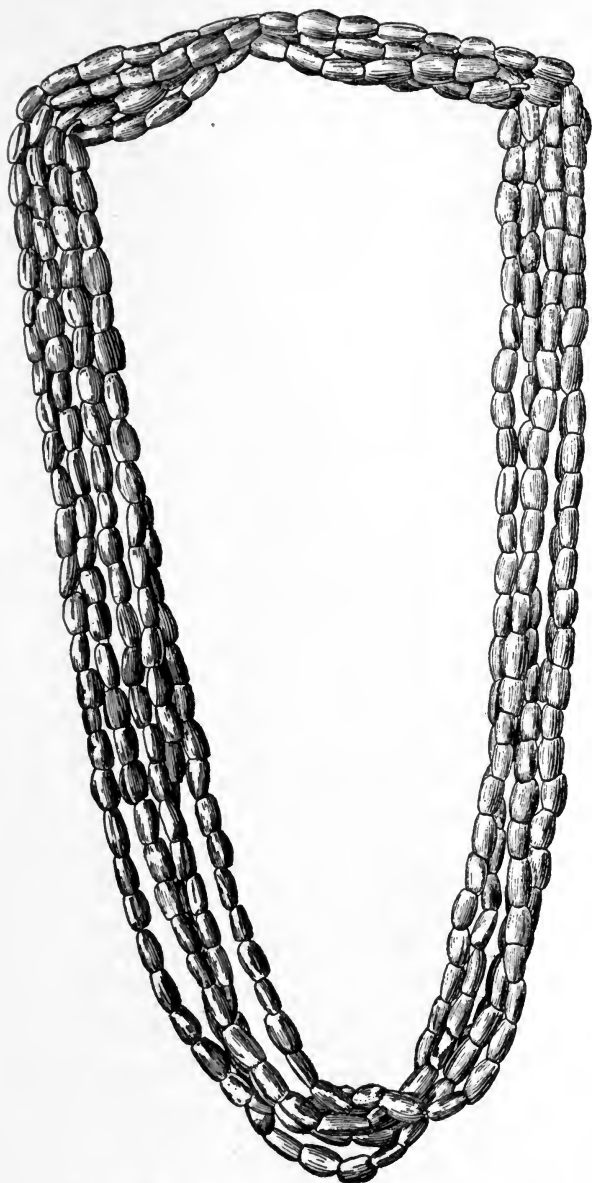


Fig. 94 ($\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size). Necklace of Pine-nuts. Length, 54 cm.

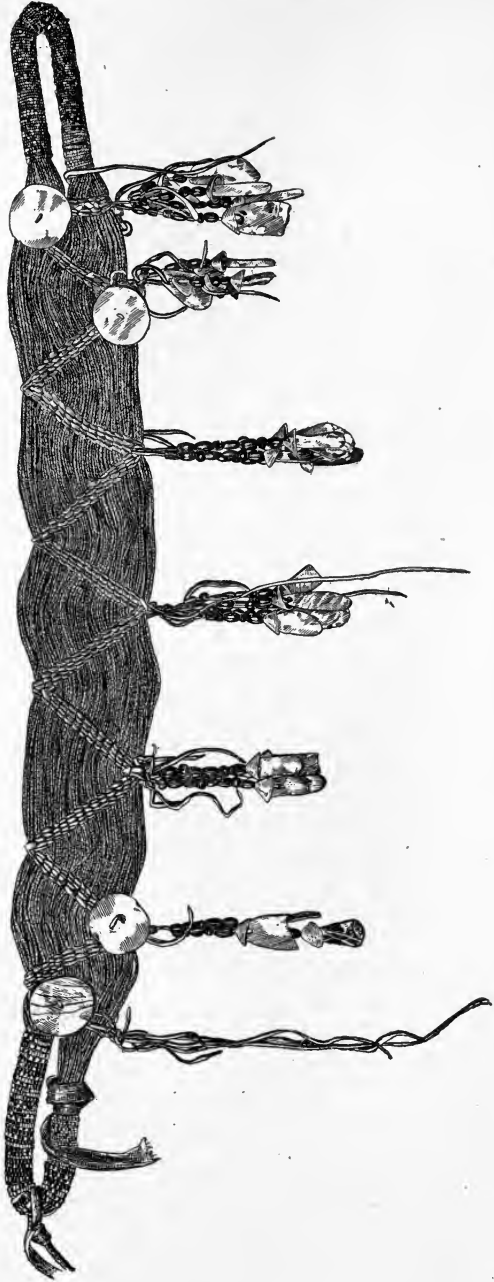


Fig. 95 (5180). Woman's Belt. Length, 80 cm.

being abandoned for the brush shelter (k'ūpexasai'duk) in the summer. None of the old type of either the dwelling-house or sweat-house now remain, and the following description is based entirely on accounts and partial models.

In the construction of the dwelling-house (Fig. 96) an excavation was first made, generally rectangular or slightly

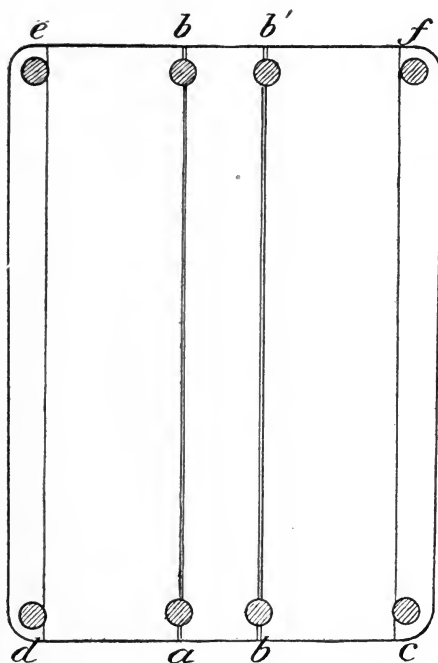


Fig. 96. Plan of a House.

oval, averaging about five metres by six or seven, with a depth of not over one metre at the outside. At either end of the excavation a pair of forked posts (*a*, *b* and *b*, *b'*) were set up, the posts being from four to five metres high, and set just inside the wall of the excavation. Then, in each corner of the pit, single forked posts (*c*, *d*, *e*, *f*) were set, these posts being only from a metre to a metre and a half in height, and also set just inside the wall. From *a* to *b* and from *b* to *b'*, two parallel ridge-

poles were then run, and likewise a pole from *c* to *f* and from *d* to *e*; these latter side-poles being but about half a metre above the edge of the excavation. The earth dug out in making the pit was next piled up along the edges of the pit, forming a wall, which extended up to the side-poles just mentioned. The walls of the excavation were next covered by slabs of cedar-bark set vertically on edge all around the sides, and reaching from the ground

to the side-poles. Finally the roof was put on, consisting of cedar or sugar-pine boards (split out with wedges) running from the side-poles to the two ridge-poles. The roof-boards met in a peak between the two ridge-poles, except for a space in the centre, where a smoke-hole was left. They also often extended a little beyond the side-poles, forming eaves, which protected the earthen walls. Sometimes the construction differed in that a side-wall of boards was first laid from the ground to the side-poles, and the earth from the excavation piled against this, the roof then being put on as just described. The ends of the house were formed by setting boards on end, almost vertically. Between the two posts (*b*, *b'*) holding up the two ridge-poles at one end of the house, a cross-bar was firmly tied with grape-vine, about a metre or a little more above the level of the ground outside; and on this cross-bar the lower ends of the boards forming the end-wall between the two posts rested. The boards forming the end-walls were firmly tied to the posts, as were also the ridge and side poles. The space below the cross-bar formed the door. The opening was usually closed by a heavy mat of rushes hanging from the cross-bar. It was quite common, apparently, to have the ridge and side poles project from a metre to a metre and a half beyond the end-wall of the house, at the end where the door was situated. On these the roof was extended and a second rough end-wall built, forming in this way a sort of "storm-porch," to which the entrance was always at the extreme corner, and unprovided with any mat or other means of closing. By placing the outer door at the corner thus, all direct draught into the house was stopped. This porch served to keep out cold and wind, and also formed a convenient storehouse for firewood, nets, spears, etc. Inside the inner door, a further protection was erected against draughts, by setting up boards on end to form two parallel walls reaching from the ground to the roof, and extending out from the doorway on either side, a metre or more, toward the centre of the house.

In the centre of the house-floor, which was of beaten earth, was the fireplace,—a circular area a metre or so in

[*August, 1907.*]

diameter, sunk from fifteen to twenty centimetres below the general level, and rimmed with stones. Around the sides of the house were the sleeping-places. For these, the ground was first levelled and stamped. A thick layer of pine-needles was then laid down, and on this mats were spread. This sleeping and lounging place extended back from the fire, on all four sides, to within half a metre of the walls of the house. At this point, a heavy board, about fifty centimetres in width, was set up on edge, and held in position by stakes. The space between this board and the wall formed thus a sort of "man-

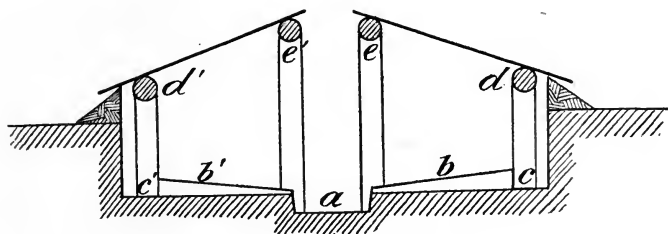


Fig. 97. Vertical Section of a House.

ger" at the head of a person lying feet to the fire; and in this place each person kept his or her personal property in the way of clothing, food, etc. A vertical section of a house is shown in Fig. 97, and will illustrate the position of this storage-place.

The dwelling-house was often occupied by more than one family; but, when this was the case, the families were always closely related, and each occupied one side or portion of the house. The only furniture in the house consisted of pillows, formed of wooden blocks slightly hollowed out on top, and apparently closely similar to those described by Goddard as in use among the Hupa.¹ Stools, consisting simply of a block of wood of variable size and form, were also in use.

The sweat-house — variously known as "big-house," "dance-house," and "sweat-house" — was somewhat differently built. The excavation made for this type of house was larger and

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

deeper, being, as a rule, from six to eight metres wide, and ten or twelve long, with a depth of about two metres. At each corner of the excavation, forked posts were set up, as in the ũ'mma; but, in place of the two pairs of posts supporting the two ridge-poles, in the latter case a single very heavy post (about four metres long) was set at each end of the pit, and a third post placed in the middle of the house. A single ridge-pole was then laid on these three posts, and the side-poles arranged as before. As in the case of the ũ'mma, cedar-bark was used to face the walls of the pit, and the roof was made of boards, but in this case had very much less pitch than in the dwelling-house, being in fact, in some instances, almost flat, the corner-posts being higher proportionally to the centre-posts than in the case of the dwelling-house. The roof being completed, a layer of pine-needles was laid on it, and then earth spread over the whole, except at the smoke-hole, to a depth of fifteen or twenty centimetres. The end-walls of the structure were made as in the dwelling-house, except that both ends were alike, there being no cross-bar at the door-end. The door was in this case formed by cutting out a hole in one of the end-planks, the hole being either round or square and usually not over sixty or seventy centimetres in diameter. This doorway opened one side or the other of the heavy post supporting the ridge-pole; and a ladder, consisting of a notched madrone-log, led very steeply down from this door to the floor of the house. Under this ladder, and between it and the wall, fire-wood was often stacked. The door-opening was closed by a sliding board on the inside. The smoke-hole also could be closed quite tightly by sliding a board over it, by means of a pole. In the centre of the house, on the farther side of the central post (which is usually a little nearer the door than the exact centre of the house), was the fireplace, made like that in the dwelling-house. Often the whole floor of the house was floored with split boards, while in other cases the floor was simply of stamped or even of baked clay.

The sweat-house was built only where there was a village of several families, and was constructed by the common labor

of all. When completed, it belonged to the head man of the village, although all men who aided in the building had certain rights in it. The leader or chief never lived in the *ō'kwa'ūmma*, except that, if a large gathering of people took place for any reason, he might temporarily vacate his own dwelling-house for the use of the guests, and take up his quarters for the time being in the sweat-house. So far as has been ascertained, there were no important ceremonies connected with the construction of the structure. It was used for gatherings of various sorts, gambling, etc., but chiefly as a general place of resort for the men of the village, they using it as a regular sleeping-place throughout the winter, only the women and children occupying the dwelling-house. In the making of the fire in this building, oak was chiefly used. When it was reduced to a bed of coals, the smoke-hole would be closed, and ashes raked over the fire; and then all the inmates slept naked, owing to the high temperature. In case of the death of a village head man, if he left no brothers or children to inherit the house, the sweat-house was burned.

Sudatories proper were small affairs, roughly hemispherical in form, built of willow poles planted in the ground, bent over, and tied. Yellow-pine bark slabs were set up on edge outside, forming walls, and the remainder of the structure was covered over with skins. An opening just large enough to crawl through was left on one side. These sudatories were usually family property, and were located near the edge of a stream.

Menstrual lodges were in construction and shape like the dwelling-house, but small, and very roughly made, accommodating at most two or three persons at one time. The summer brush-shelter was little more than a fence of brush, three or four metres high, with no roof or cover of any description. It was roughly circular in outline, and had two openings at opposite sides.

It will readily be seen from the above descriptions, that the houses of the Shasta were, as compared with those of the Indians of Central California (of which the Maidu may be taken as an example), of radically different construction.

There is no trace here of the circular type, with its radial rafters and entrance-porch; and, moreover, the functions of the sweat-house (ō'kwa'ūmma) among the Shasta are quite unlike those of the dance-house (kum) of the Maidu, for example; for in the latter case the primary use of the structure is ceremonial, and it is only secondarily a general lounging and sleeping place for the men. The Shasta house-types, on the other hand, resemble far more those of the Indians of the lower Klamath and Trinity (the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa), who are the representatives of the culture of Northwestern California in its best developed form. With these, however, the agreement is not complete.¹ It is close enough, however, to lead us to regard the Shasta, in so far as their houses are concerned, as allied rather to this Northwestern than to the Central Californian culture.

The dwelling and sweat houses were occupied, as a rule, only for about five months in the year. In the spring, when certain plants had grown to a certain height, these winter houses were abandoned, and all the people went up into the mountains, and lived during the summer in the open, roofless brush-shelters. When, in the fall, the berries had been picked and dried, and a supply of dried venison laid in for the winter, they returned to the villages (left in charge, usually, of a few old persons), cleaned out the houses, and settled down for the winter again.

The sites chosen for villages were generally on the banks of streams. Along the Klamath, the position most favored was at the mouth of some small creek coming into the main river, and forming a small flat or delta. In Scott and Shasta Valleys, the villages were usually at the edge of the valley, near the base of the hills, where a small stream came down out of the mountains.

The size of the villages would seem to have been, on the whole, small. Many of the settlements along the Klamath, for example, consisted of not more than two or three families, and there were but few villages here of any size. The Shasta

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-18.

and Scott Valley settlements may, perhaps, have been somewhat larger, although it is difficult to secure any definite information on this point. Gibbs's estimate of sixty persons as the average in a village is, I believe, a little too large.

The interior furnishing of the houses has already been referred to, and it only remains to speak of the varieties of baskets and other household utensils. For storage of acorns and dried meat, large baskets, conical in shape and of open-work structure, were much used (Plate LXIX). The basket was first lined with a mat or layer of maple-leaves, made by weaving the long stems of the leaves through the leaves and tying them, in this manner forming an even, almost water-tight, lining. Dried salmon in powdered form was kept, as were also the powdered bones, in deep baskets of tule with a tight-fitting cover. These baskets, or soft sacks, were cylindrical, and have now gone entirely out of use. Deer-fat was also kept in similar baskets.

For cooking, globular baskets were chiefly in use, although a more conical shape was occasionally employed. As a rule, the only sort of platter-baskets in use were the open-work ones (Plates LXVIII, Fig. 1, and LXX, Fig. 2); these being in use for meat and fish. Burden-baskets were usually of the open-work type (Plate LXIX). In the manufacture of acorn-meal, the milling-basket (Plates LXIII, LXVI) was generally used. The meal was sifted on a platter-basket or tray like that figured by Goddard.¹ The brush used to brush off the fine meal from the tray (Fig. 98) was made of the soaproot-fibre (*Chlorogallum pomeridianum* Kunth), but was different in form from the brushes used by the Maidu, for example.²

The Shasta used, in the stirring of their acorn-soup, a mush-paddle somewhat like those used by the Indians lower down the river,³ but less carefully made, and with but little ornamentation in the way of carving.

In fire-making, the simple fire-drill (Fig. 99) was in use, essentially similar to that used by most of the Californian peoples.

¹ Goddard, op. cit., Plate 24, Fig. 2.

² See p. 185, Fig. 46 b, of this volume.

³ Goddard, op. cit., p. 29, Fig. 3.

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION. — The food-supply of the Shasta was abundant and varied. Although depending on the acorn to a large extent, other foods, in particular salmon, played proportionally a greater part here than among the Maidu and other Central Californian peoples, but not as great, on the whole, as among the Indians of the lower Klamath.

The acorns of most of the species of oaks growing in the region were eaten. Some were, however, much preferred to others, the order of preference being black oak (*Quercus californica* Cooper), white oak (*Quercus Garryana* Dougl.), and live-oak (*Quercus chrysolepis* Liebm.). The acorns of

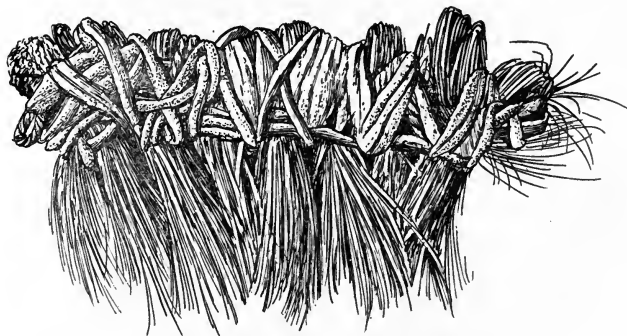


Fig. 98 ($3\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Meal-brush. Length, 12 cm.

the tan oak (*Quercus densiflora* Hook. and Arn.), growing only in quantity farther down the Klamath River than the section occupied by the Shasta, were, however, by many considered superior to any of the local species. Besides acorns, several other varieties of nuts were used for food. Pine-nuts from the digger-pine (*Pinus Sabiniana* Dougl.), the sugar-pine (*Pinus Lambertiana* Dougl.), and the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.), were always in demand; and hazel-nuts (*Corylus rostrata* Ait., var. *californica* A. D. C.) were gathered in considerable quantities in the mountains.

Berries and fruits were in abundance. Manzanita-berries (*Arctostaphylos Manzanita* Parry) grew in great quantities

and were used to make the well-known "manzanita-cider." Blackberries (*Rubus vitifolius* C. and S.), service-berries (*Amelanchier pallida* Greene), elderberries (*Sambucus glauca* Nutt.), gooseberries (*Ribes* sp.), thimbleberries (*Rubus glaucifolius* Greene), choke-cherries (*Prunus demissa* Walpers), the fruit of the sumach (*Rhus trilobata* Nutt., var. *quinata* Jepson), and a number of other fruits and berries as yet unidentified, were eaten either fresh or dried.

Roots and bulbs seem to have formed a rather smaller portion of the food-supply here than in the central part of the State, although camass (*Camassia esculenta* Lindl.) and "ipos" (*Calochortus* sp.), with one or two other roots and bulbs, were eaten to a considerable extent.

Seeds of several varieties were eaten, and the Shasta were fond of a number of sorts of "greens." The gum of the milkweed (*Asclepias cordifolia* Benth.?) was chewed, and the thin inner bark of the yellow pine was scraped off with bone scrapers, and eaten in the spring. The sugar from the sugar-pine was also sparingly eaten. No teas or aromatic infusions seem to have been used.

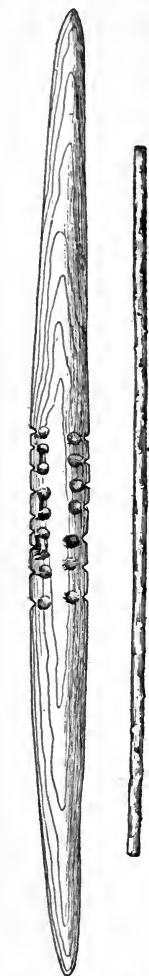


Fig. 99 (also A-B).
Fire-drill. Length
of hearth, 62 cm.

Although salmon formed a large part of the food-supply of the Shasta, game of various sorts was also a considerable factor. The mountains abounded in deer and elk; the Rocky Mountain sheep was found here and there; and in the more open sections, such as Shasta Valley, antelope were plenty. Bears were hunted for food, and were quite numerous throughout the area. The mountain-lion and wild-cat were also eaten, and

small game — such as rabbits, squirrels, etc. — was abundant. Coyotes, dogs, and snakes were not eaten. Birds, in parti-

cular ducks and geese, were abundant in places, and much sought for. Angle-worms, grasshoppers, and locusts do not seem to have been eaten to any extent.

Of fish, the salmon was by far the most important, all varieties which frequented the rivers being eaten. Trout, suckers, and eels were also in demand, as well as crawfish and turtles. Mussels were not to be had in any large quantity, but were relished when procurable. The bones of salmon and also of the deer were pounded fine, and used considerably for food.

The gathering and preparation of acorns as practised by the Shasta followed practically the same lines as among the Maidu. Inasmuch as these operations have been fully described in treating of that stock,¹ only such features of the work as differ among the Shasta need be discussed here. The acorns of the black oak were gathered, cracked, hulled, and dried in practically the same manner as among the Maidu. The thin membrane covering the meat of the nut was then rubbed off with the hand, and the meats then reduced to meal; the chief difference in this latter process here being the almost universal use of the mortar-basket. As in the case of the Maidu, only flat stones appear to have been used to pound on. In winnowing the meal and sifting it, it was held on a flat platter or tray basket held at an angle, and shaken with the right hand. The extraction of the bitter principle followed slightly different lines. The woman prepared a small scaffold or platform of sticks (some fifteen to thirty centimetres above the ground) resting either on forked sticks or on stones. On this a layer of pine-needles was placed, followed by a layer of sand, made thicker at the edges to form a basin. The meal, in a layer about five centimetres thick, was spread over this, and warm water poured on, as in the region of Central California. When completely leached, the meal was allowed to drain for a time, and then the hand was slapped down on the wet dough, which adhered to the hand as it was lifted. The sand was next carefully washed off of the

¹ See pp. 184-187 of this volume.

under side of the piece of dough by putting hand and all into a basket full of warm water, and then the cleaned sweet dough was put into another basket with water, and was ready for the final cooking. Where the acorns were plenty, the dough, after cleaning, was often dried, and in that form traded to other villages where the acorn-crop was not so plentiful. It is said that this dried acorn-paste formed a considerable article of trade with the Rogue River people in Oregon.

Acorn-soup was made here precisely as among the Maidu, except that a more or less ornamental mush-paddle, about sixty centimetres in length, was used to stir it with. The stones used for cooking were, as a rule, of a porphyritic or close-grained igneous rock, selected because it did not splinter or disintegrate when heated and suddenly cooled. The acorn-bread of the Shasta differed from that of the Maidu in that it was made into small cakes, and baked on a flat rock slanted up in front of the fire. These cakes were, moreover, generally eaten with salt.

The acorns of the white oak were prepared and cooked in the same manner as those of the black oak; but they made a more slimy, glutinous mixture, which was not as well liked. Live-oak acorns were prepared by being buried whole in the mud for some weeks, till they turned black. They were then dug up, cracked, and boiled whole, without being made into meal. They were also sometimes roasted in the ashes without any preliminary burying or boiling.

Manzanita-berries were crushed, and used to make manzanita-cider in a manner similar to that described among the Maidu.¹ The winnowed meal was also mixed with the acorn-meal in making a special variety of the acorn-soup. Sugar-pine nuts were steamed in an earthen oven. This was made by digging a hole, building a fire in it and heating stones. The fire was then raked out, some of the hot stones put in, and the nuts, wrapped in leaves, were laid thereon. Water was then poured in, more hot stones placed on top, and finally earth laid over the whole, which was allowed to steam

¹ See p. 189 of this volume.



for several hours. The nuts were then dried, and stored for use. When wanted, they were pounded fine, winnowed, and made into small cakes. Powdered pine-nuts prepared in this manner were also often mixed with the powdered salmon. Service-berries and several other sorts of berries were dried, and kept for winter use.

Salmon was prepared in much the same way as among the Maidu. The fish were split, and held open by a small twig thrust through the fish, and in this shape smoked and dried. The bones were then removed, and the dried fish rubbed to powder between the hands. In this form it was packed in leaf-lined baskets, and stored. It was eaten dry, with a spoon. Another common method of preparing salmon was to skin the fish, leaving a layer of meat (about a centimetre in thickness) adhering to the skin. A slice of clear meat was then taken off each side of the fish, leaving the backbone and the rest of the meat as a residue. The skin, the slices of clear meat, and the backbone-piece were then dried and smoked separately; the slices being kept in that form, without powdering, in ordinary baskets, without any leaf-lining. In cutting up salmon for immediate use, a cut was first made from the vent, completely around the body, severing the tail. Then a second cut was made, along both sides of the fish from tail to head, following the line on the fish's skin, thus separating the belly portion from the back; but these regulations did not apply to the dog-salmon, however. Salmon-heads were crushed, and made into cakes, which were used as a concentrated food on hunting-trips in winter.

Deer and bear meat was dried, the deer-bones being pounded up for use in making soup in the winter-time. Salt was regarded as a luxury, and was obtained chiefly from the tribes of the lower Klamath.

Meat was cooked by boiling or roasting. Bear-meat was dried somewhat differently from deer-meat, being cut into long strips, cooked in boiling water, and then dried. In such cases, the whole animal was generally rolled on to the fire, to singe off the fur before being cut up. In other cases, the bear would be skinned, leaving all the fat possible on the hide.

Ropes or sticks were then fastened to the hide (to the legs and sides, each man holding a rope or stick), and the hide was held over the fire. As the hair burned off, the hide began to shrink; then, when all the hair was gone, the hide was cut up, each person who held a rope getting a share. The skin and fat adhering were then roasted, and eaten. Grizzly-bear meat when eaten must never be tossed from one person to another, but carefully handed about. Failure to do this would lead to the offender being attacked by grizzlies.

HUNTING AND FISHING. — Salmon were caught by weirs, by nets, and by a sort of driving. The fish weir or dam was constructed always in a shallow, gravelly spot. A row of stakes was driven, slanting slightly down-stream; the stakes being set pretty close together. At water-level, a horizontal pole was tied firmly to the stakes with withes, being placed on the up-stream side. This horizontal pole was then guyed at either end, up-stream to the shore, by long grape-vines. Brush was then laid on the stakes on the up-stream side, and weighted with stones at the bottom. Here and there openings were left, and in these, long willow fish-traps were placed. Sometimes, where a stream was very swift, cribs weighted with stones were built on the down-stream side, in the centre, for additional support. Large dams of this character were few in number, there having been, it is said, but three on the Klamath River, within Shasta territory. One of these was at the mouth of Shasta River, one at Scott River, and one at Happy Camp. Each belonged to one or two men. Any one, however, could come and spear fish at such a dam, and the owners were obliged to give to any one who asked for them as many fish as he could carry.

The net used mainly by the Shasta was a very ingenious one, and was much used also by the other Indians of this whole region, and it is still used to-day. A point in the river is first selected, where there is a strong eddy, in which the salmon are likely to rest as they ascend the stream. A platform is then built out from the bank, raised about a metre from the water-level. Three straight, slender poles are next prepared, and tied together to form an isosceles triangle, as

shown in Fig. 100. A second cross-bar (gh) is then attached, the distance between h and f being equal to the height of the man's waist from the ground. Generally a third cross-piece (ij) is added for further strength. A net in the form of a conical bag is then firmly tied to ef and gh and to the portions of ab and cd between these. At x , a strong loop of grape-vine is attached to the pole ab , this loop being arranged to slide up and down on a vertical pole (Fig. 101, y) set up at one side of the platform. This pole is cut off at such a height that,

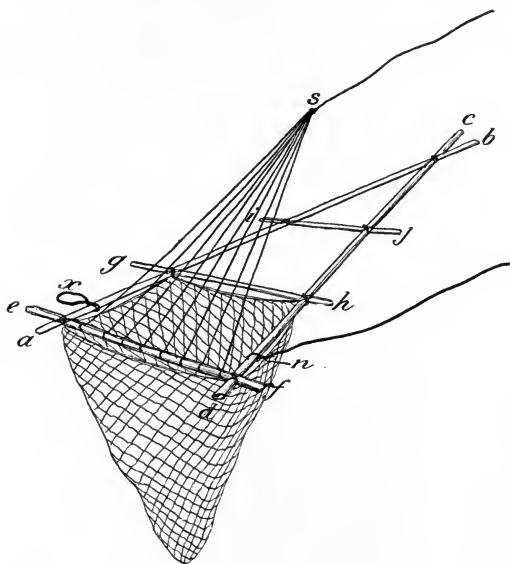


Fig. 100. Fishing-net.

when the man stands on the platform and takes the net-frame by the cross-bar ij , raising the bar as high as his waist, the loop slides off the top of the pole, thus enabling the fisherman to lift the whole net and contents to the platform. This pole, with the sliding loop, holds the net, from its shore-side, against the back-set of the eddy-current, the outer side being held by a grape-vine rope (some ten or fifteen metres long) attached at n , and running down-stream, where it is tied to a tree or stake t on the shore. Thus the man standing

on the platform can lower his net vertically into the water, the bag-net being opened, and carried by the current up-stream into the eddy. Across the mouth of the net is stretched a fan of eight strings, tied to the cross-bar *ef* (see Fig. 100) at one end,

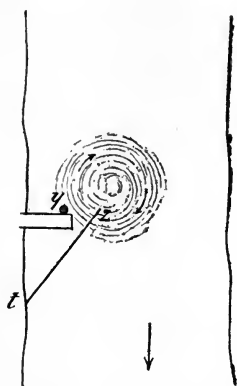


Fig 101. Sketch showing the Manner of Operating a Fish-net.

and coming together to a single string at *s*. The salmon, as they enter the net, disturb or shake these strings; and the fisherman (holding the end at *s*), feeling this, instantly draws up the net, the mouth of which automatically closes by the weight of the net and fish therein contained. The affair being lifted out on the platform, the fish are then killed with a club. Formerly, when a new platform of this sort was used for the first time, some ipos-root was pounded fine and thrown into the river; but, except for this, there were no ceremonies.

Among the Shasta in Oregon a different mode of catching salmon was in vogue, successful only where a stream was shallow, and not too rapid. Several rude rafts were constructed of logs, and on these a number of women placed themselves, and floated down-stream, thrashing the water violently all the time with branches. This proceeding frightened the fish, who turned and ran down-stream to where the men stood shoulder to shoulder in a line across the whole width of the river. As the fish came down, they were speared. All fish caught in this manner had to be eaten on the spot that same day. If any were kept, or carried home, it would immediately rain violently.

The Shasta on the Klamath had the following regulations in regard to the first salmon caught each year. It was thought that the first fish to ascend the stream annually brought the "salmon medicine" put on by the Indians at the mouth of the river. This first fish must therefore be allowed to pass unmolested. As soon as it had passed, fish might be caught; but the first one taken from the water had to be split and

hung up immediately to dry, and no sa'mon might be eaten till this salmon was completely dried and a portion eaten by all who were fishing at that point.

Deer were hunted in a variety of ways. In the autumn, deer-drives were made. These were of two sorts. In one case, fences of brush or ropes were stretched across the country, with openings left here and there. In these openings, strong nooses were set and concealed, the ends being tied to trees. The people then went out and beat up the country, driving the deer toward the fence, where they were caught in the nooses, and clubbed or shot. The other method could not be used until the oak-leaves began to fall. Men then went out and set fires in circles on the hills. The ends of the curved lines forming the circles of fire did not meet, and in this opening the women stood rattling deer-bones, while men concealed in the brush were ready to shoot the deer as they rushed out. Stalking was also considerably used. For this purpose the hunter put on the whole skin of a deer (the head stuffed, with the antlers attached), and crept up on the unsuspecting animal. Several different heads were kept, with the horns in different stages, so that they might be suitable for various times of year. Deer were also run down and killed at the season when their winter coats were coming in. They were generally driven to a stream, where men in waiting shot them while the deer were in the water. Dogs were often much used in this style of hunting. In winter, deer were also run down on snow-shoes, and clubbed. Dogs seem to have been used also in the drives, to some extent. They were trained from puppies for hunting, and, while still young, had the "Blow-fly Song" sung to them, so that their scent should be keen. Hunting-dogs were kept in regular kennels, behind the ũ'mma, or dwelling-house. To make them brave, the "Grizzly Song" was sung to them, and they were then also supposed to be able to scare game, just as the grizzlies scare people. Elk were killed chiefly in winter, being run down on snow-shoes, and shot.

Both the black and the grizzly bear were hunted. For the former, men had to sweat for five days before starting out on

the hunt, using fir-twigs on the coals, to give the body an aromatic odor. After this preparation, the hunters would go to the bear's den, talk to the bear for some time, and beg him to come out and be killed. In the case of grizzlies, the hunters had to dance the war-dance before starting out, just as if they were to hunt a human enemy. Reaching the den, a number of short, sharp stakes were driven into the ground in front of the opening, and then, as the bear came out and was engaged in tearing down and clearing out of the way this obstruction, he was shot under the neck.

Regulations as to the division and ownership of game were fairly numerous. The single hunter always shared his game with others on his return: the chief, however, had no greater share than others. The person who killed a deer always had the right to the hide and legs. If two men shot at the same deer, he whose arrow hit first, whether it inflicted a mortal wound or not, had the first right to the carcass. If any other person than the slayer of the deer should get the legs or hide, he might put them in a woman's menstrual hut, or otherwise so contaminate them that the hunter would be unlucky ever after. No hunting was ever done by a man in the time of his wife's menstrual periods.

The first game killed by a boy was never eaten by him or by any member of his family. The boy, for a year or more after he began to hunt, did not eat the game he himself killed. In the spring, if does were killed with fawn, the young fawn was hung up to a tree, and shot at by the smaller boys. Should a boy, before the usual period of a year was up, eat game he himself had killed, he would lose all his hunting-luck. When, however, he did for the first time eat game of his own killing, his father took the bowstring from the boy's bow, and whipped him severely with it, all over.

TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE. — As already stated, the Shasta made practically no use of canoes, because of the unfavorable nature of the streams within their territory. Canoes were sparingly used along the Klamath, but were nearly all purchased from the Karok and Yurok below. When made

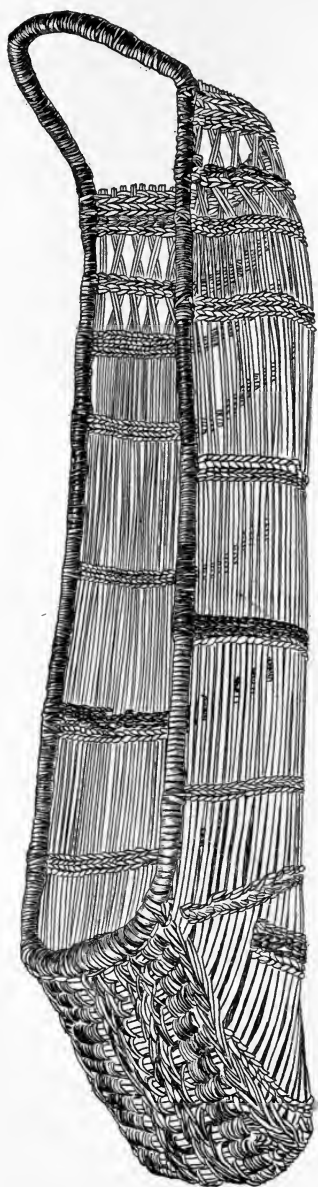


Fig. 102 (4894). Cradle-frame. Length, 40 cm.; width, 17 cm.

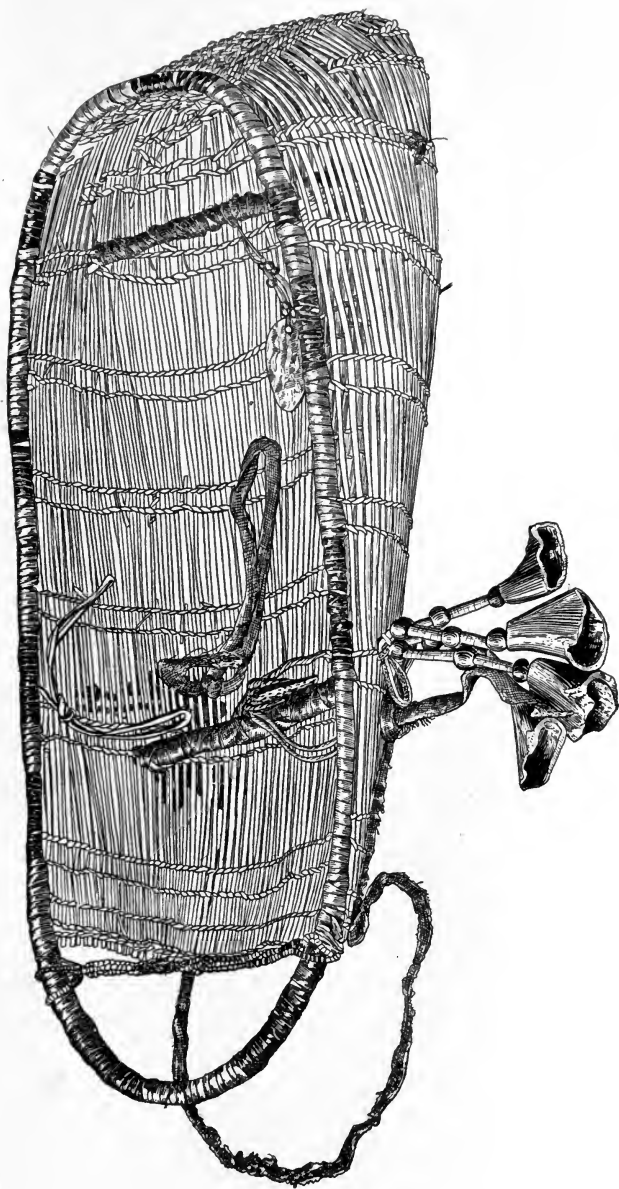


Fig. 103 (3189). Cradle-frame. Length, 52 cm.; width, 20 cm.

by the Shasta, they were merely imitations of those secured by trade.

The burden-basket was in use here, as practically throughout California. As previously described, the form made largely of rawhide was in use to a considerable extent here. They were carried by the aid of tump-lines of buckskin.

Infants were kept and carried about in cradle-frames (see Figs. 102, 103). These are at present either obtained from the Hupa and other people of the lower river, or are made on practically the same lines. That shown in Fig. 102 is very similar to the Hupa cradle figured by Goddard,¹ except that it has a more elaborate treatment of the upper portion. The technique of this is shown in Fig. 104. The child sits in the cradle-frame, the legs hanging down over the edge, and

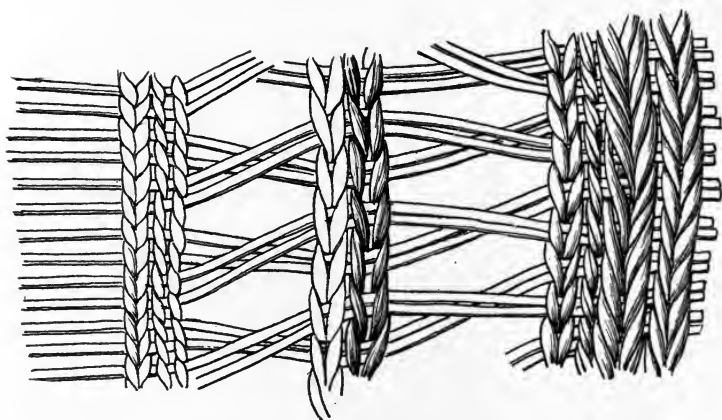


Fig. 104. Detail of Cradle-frame, Fig. 102.

the body resting, in part at least, on the two wrapped cords stretched across the frame on the inside (see Fig. 103). The piece of flint attached to the upper cross-cord in this cradle is a charm to keep away the small lizard.

Like a majority of the Indians of the Californian area, the Shasta were a sedentary, stay-at-home people, and rarely made long journeys. On hunting-trips the men often went

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, Plate 21, Fig. 1.

fifteen or even twenty miles, but had to be careful lest they infringed on the territory of some other village or tribe. Well-beaten trails connected the various villages.

The Shasta traded with the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa of the lower Klamath for acorns, baskets, dentalia, and salt, giving in exchange buckskin and pine-nuts. With the Wintun they seem to have traded chiefly for acorns, giving buckskin and obsidian in exchange, together with dentalia. There was apparently little trade with the Klamath Lake people to the eastward, but quite a little with the various Athabascan people of Rogue River and thereabouts.

WARFARE. — The bow was the chief weapon of the Shasta. In use, it was held horizontally. No wholly satisfactory conclusions can be drawn, however, as to the original type of bow. No bows still survive which are unquestionably of Shasta make, several so-called "Shasta bows" having really been obtained in trade from lower down the river. The only bow which was secured (Fig. 105) lacks any sinew backing, and is somewhat roundish in section, and quite different from the bows of the people of either the lower Klamath or of the Klamath lakes. The model of a bow (Fig. 106) secured at Siletz is also without sinew backing; but not much reliance can be placed on this model. Statements as to former practice vary, some declaring that bows were formerly broad and flat, like the Hupa bow, with a sinew backing; others, that they were more rounded, and without the backing. Emmons¹ describes the bow as substantially like the Hupa or Karok type, — broad and flat, with painted sinew backing.

In this connection, perhaps, should be mentioned a peculiar type of bow found in many museums in this country and abroad. In many instances these bows are labelled "Shasta," while in other cases they are simply marked "California." They are very characteristic in the roundness of the bow and the peculiar manner in which the sinew backing is curved around at the ends (Fig. 107). All these bows of which I have any knowledge are old, and were obtained some-

¹ Emmons, *United States Exploring Expedition*, Vol. V, p. 239.

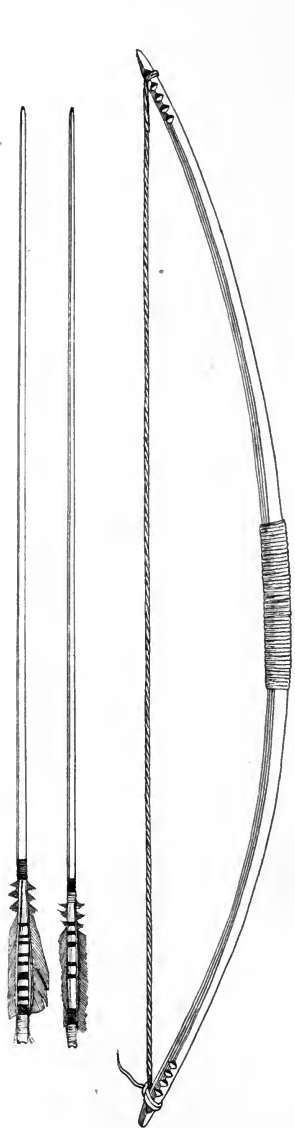


Fig. 105 ($\frac{460}{3187}$ A-C). Bow and Arrows. Length of bowstring, 70 cm.; of arrows, 65 cm.

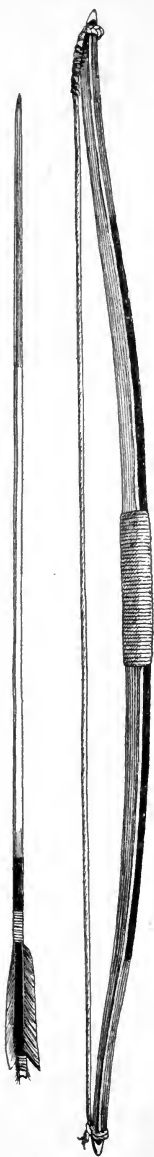


Fig. 106 ($\frac{460}{3187}$ A). Model of bow from Siletz. Length of bow, 76 cm.; of arrow, 68 cm.

where in the period anterior to 1855 or 1860, some of them as early as 1820, or before. Careful inquiry in the Shasta territory has failed to reveal any specimens there, and no trace of the peculiar treatment of the sinew at the ends of the bow has been found among the Shasta themselves: The bow, however, exactly resembles the one shown by Langsdorff,¹ who visited the region about San Francisco in



Fig. 107 (6439). Section of a Sinew-backed Bow.

1803-07, and who came in contact, so far as known, only with tribes of the Bay area. The probability is strong, therefore, that these bows sometimes labelled "Shasta" are in reality from the Bay region, and not from the Shasta, with whom the earlier explorers who visited the California coast could have had no communication. The evidence is also strengthened by the fact that, in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, there is a large bundle of bows, unlabelled, but of this very type, which were probably brought back by Kotzebue in 1818; and he, as in the case of Langsdorff, came in contact only with the Indians of San Francisco Bay.

Arrows (see Figs. 105, 106) both with and without foreshafts were in use; the former for large game and in war, the latter for small animals. Obsidian was chiefly used for the points; but no authentic arrows in good condition were found.

The Shasta used both elk-hide and stick armor as a protection in warfare. The latter was always preferred, and was made of round rods of some hard wood (generally service-berry), fastened together by twined cords in the usual manner. On the head was worn a band of elk-hide about fifteen centi-

¹ G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World*, 1803-07, Vol. II. London, 1813.

metres wide. This was sometimes made double, so as to be impenetrable, and was decorated with designs cut in the skin, and then painted.

There was little or nothing in the way of organized warfare, all being accomplished by means of raids. Preparatory to the leaving of a war-party, all the members had to dance the war-dance. This was taken part in chiefly by the men, although some young women always joined in, as they occasionally went with the war-parties, armed with knives, with which they tried to cut the bowstrings of the enemy, and also to slash their quivers. The war-dance is described as follows.

When a war-party was planned, the young men would gather together, and say to the women, "Ha'a, atcaixī'yax-ū'mmū kwa nī'waiats" ("Now, when it is about sundown, build ye a fire"). In compliance with this, the women built a fire on the dance-ground. The men assembled there, wearing a buckskin wrapped about the waist, and their hair gathered in a knot on the top of the head, and secured by means of wooden pins some ten or fifteen centimetres long. On the knot of hair a pompon of chicken-hawk feathers was set, and one or more mokus (or decorated feathers) stuck in the hair upright. The women came in their ordinary clothes. The dancers stood in line, facing the fire, and danced, stamping one foot only, and holding bow and arrow as if ready to shoot. Some carried, instead, double-pointed obsidian knives from twenty-five to forty centimetres in length, wrapped in the centre (where they were grasped) with buckskin. If women took part, they were placed at the ends of the line, and held pieces of obsidian decorated with feathers similar to that shown in Fig. 108. After dancing for some time in line, a person from each end danced out toward the fire, then turned, and, passing between the fire and the line, went to the opposite end of the line, whence he or she then returned in a similar manner to the original place. The war-cry was sounded from time to time, and the dancers talked loudly of the men they were to kill and the deeds they were to do. The dance kept up all night, and was repeated for three or four nights before

the party left. During this period the dancers might not eat meat, and might eat of other foods only sparingly. The entire day and night before leaving was spent in dancing, the party leaving so as to arrive just before dawn at the place to be attacked. When leaving, they were elaborately painted



Fig. 108 (3196). Dancing-knife. Length of blade, 19 cm.

(in red, black, and white) in spots of solid color. White, if it was used, precluded the use of any other color with it. Red and black might be combined. Each man always painted in the same manner.

There are various prayers used for help and assistance while on war-parties, and an example of these is given on

p. 490. Scalping seems to have been but little practised, and the prisoners taken were as a rule spared, and kept as slaves.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS. — The most important games played by the Shasta were the men's gambling-game (resembling in many respects the grass-game of the Maidu and other Central Californian Indians) and the women's game, or many-stick game, known to the Hupa and to many other tribes. Both these games are still in use.

The men's game (*kē'tapig*) is played with a bundle of fifteen or twenty carefully made, spindle-shaped sticks known as *a'nninai* (Fig. 109), painted in bands of different colors. Two of the sticks, however, are left plain, without decoration, and are called *āk*. Each man's spindles are decorated somewhat differently, examples of the different types being shown in Fig. 110. With such a set of sticks a small red stone is often kept as a lucky-charm, and also a tiny obsidian knife, which is used to cut up glow-worms with which to rub the sticks for luck. In making the sticks, much ceremony is observed. They are generally made by two men together, who, after strict continence for five days, go off into the mountains alone. Here they sing and pray, and are not allowed to eat meat or fresh fish, being restricted to a very little acorn-meal and dried fish. In eating, they have to eat out of small, well-decorated baskets, and may drink water only if mixed with a little acorn-meal. On their return with the finished sticks, the men are obliged to remain continent for another five days, before using the sticks, and must during this time bathe frequently. The sticks are kept in sets, wound around and wrapped with a long cord, as shown in Fig. 109.

In playing the game, two players seat themselves opposite each other. Each has his set (or several sets) of sticks and a



Fig. 109 (*s139*).
Bundle of Sticks
used in the Game
Kē'tapig. Total
length, 20 cm.

small pile of dried grass. Each has, moreover, seven counters, or small sticks, with which to keep tally. As a rule, these counters are merely seven of the decorated a'n'ninai, which, being sharp at the ends, are stuck into the ground, or in the mat on which the player sits. Taking one of the plain sticks (āk) and one of the decorated ones, one of the players rolls each separately in a bunch of grass, and then, shuffling the two bunches rapidly, sings his gambling-song, and tries to confuse the opponent, who is to guess which bunch of



Fig. 110 (3124, 3125).
Decorations on Stick for the
Game Ké'tapig.

grass contains the unmarked stick. The bundles of grass are held in the hands, the fists clinched, and either held against the breast, or put on the knees. If the opponent guesses correctly, the loser (who has been "rolling") pays him one of his seven counters; and the opponent then, taking his set of sticks, "rolls," and the first man has to guess. If he lose his guess, he pays a counter to the one who is "rolling." The one who first gets all fourteen of the counters wins. In paying losses, the Maidu method seems to prevail; that is, the paying out of one's winnings as soon as one has any; and only after these are exhausted does the player pay out of the original stock.¹

In guessing, the opponent indicates the position of the āk, with the index-finger of the hand, on the same side that he thinks the unmarked spindle is. Thus, if the guesser thinks the āk is in the "roller's" right hand, he, facing him, points to that hand with the forefinger of his own *left* hand. If he wishes to use the right hand in pointing in this case, he may do so, but must not point with the index-finger, but with the thumb. Before pointing, he always claps his hands once or twice. As will be explained presently, at one stage

¹ See pp. 213-215 of this volume.

of the game the guesser must decide upon two out of three bundles, instead of the usual one out of two. In this case he indicates his choice thus: the three piles being represented by 1, 2, 3, if he wishes to indicate the bundles 1 and 2, he motions with the flat hand on that side (moving his hand from the outside in, that is, toward his body), or with the other hand (moved in the opposite direction; namely, out from the body) if he wishes to indicate bundles 2 and 3. Or either of these combinations may also be shown by using the proper hand, starting in the middle (that is, at the body), and moving outwards. If the guesser wishes to indicate a choice of 1 and 3, however, he points with the index-finger and thumb of either hand.

In the course of the game, when the "rolling" side has won five counters from the other, the method of play changes. The next guess, if correct, follows the usual rule; but, if wrong, the loser does not pay a counter, but waits till the opponent "rolls" again. He does so, and this time divides the grass into three bundles, instead of two, placing these on the ground in front of him; and the guesser must now select two out of the three. If his choice does not include the *āk*, he loses, and has to pay over both his remaining counters, and is thus beaten. If, however, he guesses correctly, he pays nothing, and receives nothing, but becomes at once the "roller;" and the previous "roller" now has to guess.

While a man is gambling, his wife must be very careful as to her food, eating only dry fish and acorns, and drinking only water in which some acorn-meal has been stirred.

The women's game (*kū'ig*) is also a guessing-game. In this, each of the two players has her own set of sticks, just as in the men's game. The sticks in this instance, however, are of a different type, being slender, peeled twigs about twenty-five centimetres in length and two millimetres in diameter. Some fifty or sixty of these form a set, making a cylindrical bundle some five centimetres in diameter. All but one of the sticks are usually painted alike (either plain red or

black), this one, however, having either a black or a red ring about its centre. The game consists in one of the two players guessing the position of this marked stick. In playing the game, the bundle of sticks is held in the right hand, rather nearer the upper end than the middle; the other end of the bundle being rested on the palm of the left hand. By giving the two hands a slow, circular movement in opposite directions in a horizontal plane, the individual sticks are twisted and shuffled among themselves very thoroughly. This being done for a few moments, the bundle of sticks is divided in two, one portion being held in each hand; and the opponent now has to determine in which of the two bundles the marked stick is contained. Each side starts in the game with five counters. If the guesser loses a guess, she passes over one counter to the opponent: if, on the other hand, she guesses correctly, no counters change hands, but the successful guesser takes her set of sticks, and the one who formerly "shuffled" now guesses. As in the men's game, losses are paid out of winnings so far as possible, and the side which first secures all ten of the counters wins the game and stake.

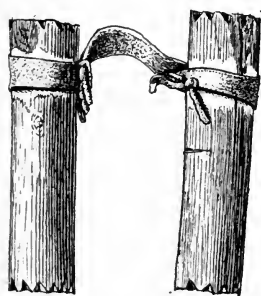


Fig. 111 ($\frac{3}{4}$ nat. size). Sticks tied together for Use in a Game played by Women. Length of first stick, 12 cm.

So far as known, no dice-games were used by the Shasta. The women played a game in which two sticks or billets about fifteen centimetres long, tied together near their ends by a cord some ten centimetres in length (Fig. 111), were pitched or tossed by means of a staff a metre and a half in length. A goal was set up at either end of the course, and the two billets were set in the ground, halfway between, just the loop of the cord projecting above the ground. The two opposing sides, which numbered from four to ten, faced each other, and the leaders then struggled for the first chance to toss the billets. Each side strove to send the billets to its opponent's goal. The game was

essentially similar to that played by the Hupa,¹ the Klamath,² and the Maidu.³

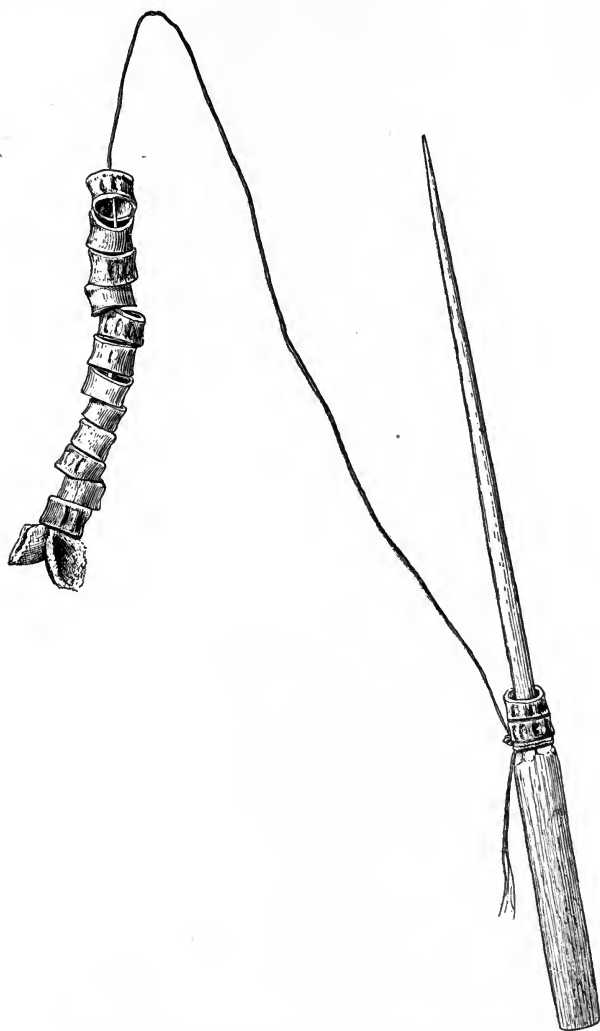


Fig. 112 (3192). A Form of the Cup-and-ball Game. Total length, 38 cm

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

² Dorsey, *Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians* (*American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. III, pp. 19, 20).

³ See p. 208 of this volume.

The Shasta still play a game (Fig. 112) in which twelve salmon-vertebræ are strung on a cord thirty or forty centimetres in length, the end one being tied transversely to prevent the others from slipping off. The cord is attached to a slender, sharpened wooden pin about fifteen centimetres long. The game consists in swinging the bones upward with a quick motion of the hand, and trying to catch as many as possible of the vertebræ on the pin. Each player tries five or six times, and the winner is he whose total of bones caught is the highest. The greatest skill is needed to catch the end vertebra, which has its opening at right angles to the others. Each vertebra is called a "moon," and, by playing the game chiefly in winter, the moon is made to grow old quicker, and the winter thus shortened. The catching of the end-bone, which is called the "eye of the moon," kills the moon, as they say, more quickly than catching the others. In winter, also, cat's-cradle figures are made by the young people. These are made only during the waxing of the moon, the looping and stretching of the cord being supposed to hasten the growth of the moon. During the wane of the moon, on the other hand, the above-mentioned game of the salmon-vertebræ is played, to hasten the moon's death.

Boys formerly played a game in which disks of yellow-pine bark, with or without a hole in the centre, were rolled down hill, and shot at with bow and arrow as they passed. Boys played with a small top made from an acorn, and also had a "buzzer" made of the metacarpal bone of a deer. Small children also played a game in which each of two children held in the hand the forked stem of a certain plant. These were then hooked into each other, and each child pulled, the stem which broke making its holder the loser. As soon as this was determined, the victor struck the loser with a switch, calling him or her "dog."

ART.

DECORATIVE ART. — The Shasta show, on the whole, less artistic development than the majority of the Indians of

Central California, but, like the most of the Indians of the State, they exhibit it chiefly in basketry decorations. As compared with the Central Californian people, the Shasta, perhaps, evidence a somewhat greater growth of painting and of plastic art.

The basketry designs of the Shasta appear to be rather few in number and simple in character. As has been said, basketry-making is now hardly practised at all by the Shasta; and practically all the baskets in use, or sold by them, are bought from the people of the lower Klamath. Two women, however, were found who consented to make some baskets such as the Shasta formerly made, and with their old designs. As one of these women was living on the Siletz Reservation, and unable to get the traditional materials, she had to employ those in use by the Athabascan Indians of the region, but claimed that the technique and designs were purely Shasta. Long association with other people on the Reservation may, however, have had its effect, and I do not feel fully confident that either these baskets, or those obtained on the Klamath River, are to be regarded as certainly Shasta in technique or decoration.

The designs, and the arrangements of designs, on these baskets, agree in part with those of the Northwestern, North-eastern, and Maidu types as defined by Dr. Kroeber.¹ Considering the designs in themselves, we find some fifteen represented on the baskets here shown. Of these a number are similar to Hupa, Yurok, and Karok designs. The commonest decoration on Shasta baskets is that shown in Plates LX and LXI, and known as "wood set up around." This is essentially similar to the Yurok "elk"² and the Karok "cut wood."³ The design shown in Plate LXII, Figs. 1 and 2, known as "flint goes around," is the same as the Yurok and Karok "flint."⁴ Again, Plate LXIII, Figs. 1 and 2, for which no name was secured, resembles the

¹ Kroeber, *Basketry Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California* (University of California Publications, *American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. II, pp. 152 et seq.).

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Figs. 7, 121.

Yurok "ladder."¹ Plate LXII, Fig. 3, called "butterfly," is practically the Yurok "waxpoo."² The design on the basket shown in Plate LXII, Fig. 4, called "salmon-heart," is very much like the Yurok and Karok "sturgeon," or "snail's back."³ This same design is frequently found on Northern Wintun baskets.⁴ Another resemblance to the Wintun is shown in Plate LXIV, Figs. 1 and 2, "it goes round one way;" this being similar to the "pulled around," shown on a basket from the upper Sacramento.⁵ Resemblances to designs found even farther south are also to be noted, as in Plates LXIV, Fig. 3, and LXV, Fig. 2, where the design, called "it goes round crooked," is identical with the Maidu design of "wood in billets."⁶ Again, Plate LXV, Fig. 3, known as "frog's-belly," resembles the Maidu "water-snake."⁷ The meaning of the designs shown in Plates LXV, Fig. 1, LXVII, Figs. 1 and 2, and LXVIII, Fig. 2, are unknown.

The design in Plate LXIV, Fig. 2, known, like that in Fig. 1, as "it goes round one way," suggests in part the Achomá'wi design of the "skunk."⁸ Plate LXVI, Fig. 1, also suggests Achomá'wi motifs, resembling one of the elements in the design called there "mussel's-tongue."⁹ The simple bands shown on many baskets are found among most of the stocks in this whole region.

The design names in use among the Shasta are few in number and are more of the type of those in the northwestern and northeastern areas than of the region farther south. This is shown in the presence of purely descriptive names. The animal names given — such as salmon-heart, frog's-belly, and butterfly — are either uncommon or unknown among the surrounding stocks.

Feather-work was comparatively little used by the Shasta;

¹ Kroeber, *Basketry Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California* (University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. II, Fig. 50).

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 39.

³ *Ibid.*, Figs., 73, 174.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fig. 216; see also this volume, Plate XXIII, Figs. 2 and 7.

⁵ See this volume Plate XXIV, Fig. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Plate XV, Fig. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Plate III, Fig. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Plate XVIII, Fig. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Plate XVIII, Fig. 1.

and the few articles made for ceremonial purposes were rather simple as compared with those made by the Maidu, for example, or by the Hupa. While, among the Maidu, carving was practically unknown, the Shasta illustrated the rudiments of the art in the carved handles of their wooden or horn spoons (see Fig. 71) and their mush-paddles. These, however, show much less development than those of the Indians farther down the Klamath River.¹ Painting, except on the bow, was apparently confined chiefly to the elk-hide frontlets worn in battle. No specimens of these are now in existence; but the nature of the designs is said to have been similar to those on the basketry. Buckskin skirts worn by shamans often had rude zigzags and dots of red paint applied, as shown in Plate LXXII.

No rock paintings or carvings are known in the area occupied by the Shasta, with one exception. At Gottville, on the Klamath River, there was formerly a large boulder, on which were cut or scratched, according to the various accounts, many figures. Some are said to have resembled bear's feet; and others are described as "like hieroglyphics," whatever that may mean. A local photographer once took several negatives of the rock, which is well remembered by some of the older settlers; but not the slightest trace of these can now be found. Search for the boulder itself has also proved unavailing, as it had probably been either washed down by the river, or at least turned over and partially buried by debris, during a period of unusually high water which occurred a few years ago.

MUSIC.—The Shasta have little beside the flute in the way of musical instruments. The flute, however, was but little used, it seems, as compared with the considerable use made of it in the central parts of the State. Single and double whistles, of bird-bones, were in use by the shamans, and also were used in the war-dance. So far as my information goes, no drum of any sort was used. Rattles (Fig. 113) were made of deer-hoofs attached to a stick, stick and cords

¹ Goddard, op. cit., Plate 16, Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.



being dyed or painted red. These rattles were used chiefly by young girls during the puberty-dance. The cocoon rattle



Fig. 113 (4872 A). Rattle made of Deer-hoofs. Length of handle, 20 cm.

and the split-clapper rattle, both common in Central California, seem to be lacking.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LAW.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. — The social organization of the Shasta was somewhat intermediate between that of the Central Californian area as exemplified by the Maidu, and the Northwestern area as shown in the Hupa. As is the case practically throughout California, no trace is to be found of any gentile or totemic grouping. People lived in village communities, generally of small size, and not infrequently, it is said, consisting of only a single family. In so far we have the formlessness of the Central area; but we find among the Shasta the additional feature, that the various communities were organized, or, perhaps better, grouped into four divisions. These were the Wirühikwai'irukla, or Klamath River people; the Wīwehā'wakütsu, or Scott Valley people; the Ahōtirē'itsu, or people of Shasta Valley; and the Ikira-ku'tsu, or people along the Stewart and Rogue rivers in Oregon.

Each of these groups had a head man or chief, the position being declared to have been hereditary, passing first to the next oldest brother, and, in default of a brother, to the oldest son. For sufficient reason, the chief might be deposed, and the next in succession appointed in his place. No woman could be chief; nor could the sisters of a chief marry any one in the tribe who would be of rank sufficient to be elected chief. If the regular successor were too young to act as chief, the chief of the neighboring section or group would serve as regent during his minority, the female relatives of the young chief being co-regents in all matters of minor importance. The family in each group in which the chieftancy was hereditary was by tradition originally the wealthiest one, and a chief must be wealthy, or else he was not allowed to take his position. This prominence of wealth as a necessary characteristic of a chief resembles somewhat the conditions among the Hupa. The necessity for the possession of wealth on the part of the chief lay in part in the fact that he often had to advance, or pay out of his own property, the fines required as blood-money of the people of his group. His other duties were to act as adviser to his people, and par-

ticularly to settle disputes both within and without his tribe. An important part of his duties as mediator consisted in arriving at some agreement with aggrieved parties as to the monetary satisfaction needed to balance accounts in cases of theft or murder. As just stated also, in instances where the aggressor could not pay, the chief often advanced the property, or in some cases paid it outright for the poorer people. He did not take part in war, but, when the fighting was over, he with the chief of the enemy, aided by several old men from each side, agreed on terms of peace. There was, however, no formal body which could be called a council.

Slaves were held by the Shasta in a few cases. The custom was not regarded very favorably; and persons owning slaves were said to be, in a way, looked down upon. The slaves were fairly well treated, apparently, being taken into the family, and, if young, brought up with the children.

Rights of property were, in general, similar to those among the Maidu. Fishing-places, and in particular fish weirs or dams, were private property belonging to specific families. Only the wealthy, however, had any such property. Members of the family alone had the right to fish there; but to strangers or others they had to give fish, if asked, and they generally allowed them to fish for themselves now and then. If a member of the family died, no other member of the family could fish there for two years, and, of course, no outsider. To a less extent, each family seems to have had its own hunting-grounds, to which some regulations applied, but more laxly than to the fishing-places. Both hunting and fishing places were inherited in the male line. Each village had a well-recognized territory, within which the areas of the different families lay; but there was not, apparently, as much care taken to make exact boundaries as among the Maidu, nor was there any such system of policing the village territory as obtained there, according to the information secured from Mr. Spencer.

The division of labor among the Shasta was similar to that among the Maidu.¹

¹ See this volume, p. 227.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.—In all minor affairs, such as theft, the chief acted as mediator and settled the quarrel, generally by exacting a payment to recompense the aggrieved party. For more serious crimes, as murder, there was more formality. One or two well-known men were hired by the aggressors to act as go-betweens, and these went to the family of the murdered man, and tried to arrange for blood-money to be paid. This was sometimes merely property in dentalia, skins, food, etc., but often included one or more women. The payment of property was usually a simple affair to arrange, as every individual had his or her fixed value, depending on the price paid for their mother by their father at marriage. Blood-money must always be accepted, if offered. Revenge, either on the murderer or on any of his relatives, might, however, be taken before the offer could be made. Should such revenge be taken on any one not the criminal himself, the regular payment for such person must be made to the relatives, thus offsetting in part or in whole the sum they were required to pay for the first killing. In cases of murder, the friends and relatives of the murdered man went about praying that the murderer might die, or be injured in some accident. If this happened to him or to any of his family (who were generally included in these prayers), it was regarded as due to the latter that the accident or death took place, and the relatives of the murdered man were then held just as much responsible for the blood-money as if they had killed or injured the individual by bodily violence.

BIRTH, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH.

The following account of the former customs in these matters is based, of necessity, almost entirely on descriptions given by older Indians, the customs themselves having now almost entirely disappeared.

BIRTH.—As soon as a man's wife has conceived a child, both he and she are subject to many regulations. He does not hunt much, and, toward the close of the period of pregnancy, not at all. If he hunts, he must kill only deer; for,

should he kill a pheasant, the child, when born, would be subject to epilepsy. Should he kill a coyote, the child would always be erratic and strange. The woman, on her part, has to observe some food-restrictions, and in general eats but little, particularly as the time for delivery approaches. She must be very careful not to look at anything unusual, lest it affect the child. Should she, for example, see a wounded person, the child would bear a birth-mark where the wound was. Should she see a deformed person, the child also would be deformed. She must not step over a dead rattlesnake, lest the child be born blind; nor is she allowed to eat rabbit, for fear that the child will have a hare-lip. Neither she nor the father must look a dead person in the face.

When the time for delivery approaches, the woman goes generally to her menstrual lodge, and, aided by some old woman (generally a relative), gives birth to the child. During delivery, the woman assumes a half-reclining position. If the delivery is delayed, water from an eddy in the river is given to the woman, and special songs sung. Large payments are necessary to be allowed to learn these songs. They relate how Anakuna (apparently a large species of hawk) once bore five children in his nose. For a long time he could not secure the delivery of the children, but finally, on drinking water from an eddy in the river, the children were born immediately.

As soon as the child is born, the umbilical cord is tied with a strand of the mother's hair, and the child, after severing the cord, is washed in cold water, nursed immediately, and then laid on a tray-basket, which is set on a cooking-basket full of boiling water. Here, in the warm vapor, the child is kept for five days, at the end of which period the umbilical cord is supposed to drop off. The cord was generally decorated with beads wrapped in a bit of buckskin, and carefully kept by the mother, being hidden in the hollow of a tree a mile or more from camp. In other cases, this practice seems not to have been followed, the cord being burned just at dawn of the sixth day. The after-birth is burned. No matter what season of the year it may be,

it is thought that rain almost immediately follows the birth of a child.

For a month after the birth of the child, the mother remains in her menstrual hut, subject to strict food-regulations. For five days she must use a scratching-stick (Fig. 114). The father also, during these first five days, is under restrictions. He must stay by himself, away from the village; he must sleep but little, may eat only dried fish and acorns, and must bring wood every night to the sweat-house, where he sweats every day at dawn. At the end of the five days, he bathes, and may then resume his regular life. The woman, at the end of her month's seclusion, also bathes, and then takes up her usual duties.

After the first five days, during which the child remains in the basket over the steaming water, it is placed in a regular cradle-frame (see Figs. 102, 103), wrapped first in a small foxskin. At the end of the month, when the mother resumes her ordinary life, she puts the child on a new and larger cradle-frame, in which the child is kept till it is able to creep. To both cradles, pieces of obsidian (generally small arrow-points or knives) are attached, in order to keep Ta'matsi, the small lizard or swift, away from the child. If this were not done, it would say to the child, "Laugh," or "Cry," and make the baby fractious. When the child has reached an age where it no longer requires a cradle, both the first and the second ones are taken by the mother, and hung on a black oak, at some distance from the village.

If a child is still-born, both man and wife must fast rigor

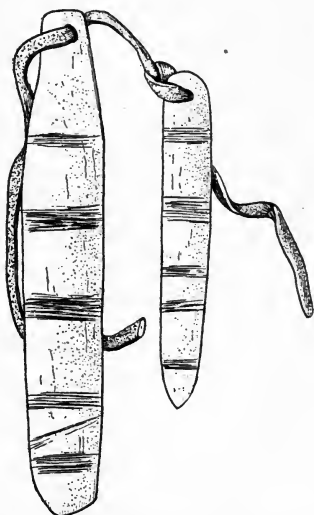


Fig. 114 ($\frac{59}{100}$ A-B). Scratching-stick used by Women after the Birth of a Child. Length of longer stick, 11 cm.

ously, and sweat and bathe frequently, for ten days. After this time, they must secure the services of some one to perform a ceremony for them, the ceremony involving chiefly the singing of certain songs. The man cuts his arms with a flint knife in several places, rubs in some sort of powdered root, and drinks an infusion of several herbs. After this, both man and wife resume their usual life. A parallel ceremony for the woman was also necessary; but the details of neither could be secured.

NAMES. — Children are not named till they are a year or so old. The names given may be either those of some animal or bird, or more usually refer to some characteristic of the child or its parents. Thus, if the child's father is a good hunter, it may be called Ō'wariya'hawir; if a good gambler, Ayakwā'hawir; if a good fighter and leader, I'rūhuti'kahirū; or, if the father is lazy and of little account, Ā'psair. Girls are named after their mother's characteristics; as, if lazy, Apsā'tswirax; if a good worker, Irakwi'tswirax. Names referring to personal characteristics are such as Irahō'xūkwīd ("striped around"), or I'raxagi'skisir ("hair sticks up straight"). Others, again, chiefly persons of considerable standing, have the names of certain Axè'ki ("pains"), such as Ā'wariknèkè ("two crowns in hair"), or Irahō'dikahiru. A name once given holds, as a rule, for life, and no other names are given either to men or women at a subsequent period.

When a person dies, his or her name is not mentioned by the relatives, but may be by other people, except to the relatives or in their hearing. This restriction gradually dies away, and after several years the name or the word (if the name is the name of some animal or other) again comes into general use. To mention the name, however, to a relative, during the prescribed time, is one of the greatest insults possible.

Children have their hair burned off close to the head, with the aid of a small torch, at the age of one month. This process is repeated periodically, in the case of boys, till they reach the age of two or three years, when the hair is allowed to grow long. In the case of girls, after they reach the age

of three the hair is allowed to grow long, except for a broad strip from the forehead, over the crown of the head, to the neck; this strip being kept short by burning, as before. This peculiar type of hair-dressing is continued till the age of puberty. At the age of about ten or eleven, both boys and girls have their ears pierced. It is done, as a rule, with a porcupine-quill, and for a period of five days the girl or boy must sleep but little, eat sparingly (and only of dried fish and acorns), and must walk about much alone among the hills.

PUBERTY. — Puberty ceremonies were held by the Shasta only for girls, and, so far as has been ascertained, the details of the ceremony appear to have been alike throughout the whole area occupied by the stock. According to the accounts, the ceremony begins at once, on the night after the girl attains puberty. She goes to her mother's menstrual hut or to a special hut built for her. Her face is painted with a number of vertical stripes in red,¹ running from the forehead to the chin; and on her head she wears a feather head-dress (see Fig. 84) consisting of a wide visor of bluejay-feathers, which shields the eyes completely, so that the wearer cannot look up, or see the sun or moon. In some cases there is a cap-like addition to the visor, so covering all the head, which tends to obviate evil dreams. In the menstrual hut the girl remains for a good part of the day, for ten days, and is always accompanied by her mother or an old woman (or more than one), who does everything for the girl, cutting up her food, washing her face, and combing her hair. She may not speak to any one, except her mother or female attendant, during this period of ten days, and only to her in a whisper. She must wear her moccasins all the while, and must use a large scratching-stick (see Fig. 114) of bone for her head, and a smaller one for her eyelids. She must not come near a fire, nor look at one directly, during the whole period; nor may she look at people, or at the sun or moon. She must not get excited, nor hurry in doing anything. During the whole time, she is subjected

¹ See this volume, p. 233.

to strict food-regulations, and may drink only water that has been warmed and into which a little clay has been stirred. She is allowed to sleep but very little, and that just before dawn. In sleeping, she must place her head in a mortar-basket across the small end of which a stick is placed. This is to keep evil spirits away from her head. The stick which is put across the opening is burned every morning by the girl's attendant, and a new one is prepared for the next night. All the time the girl remains in the hut, she must sit facing the east, and holding a deer-hoof rattle in her hand, which she shakes from time to time. Every day she must go up into the mountains and bring back several loads of wood, which are used for the fire for the evening dance. She must also bring a small quantity for every house in the village. She is accompanied on these excursions by two or three young girls, and, should she meet any one on the trail, they at once turn aside, and allow her to pass. Whatever she dreams of during this period, she confides to her mother, and all these dreams are bound to come true. Should she be so unfortunate as to dream of the death of any person in the village, or of a general conflagration, the only way the calamity can be averted is to burn the unfortunate girl alive. For this sacrifice, which, it is said, has several times been made, the girl is decked in all the finery the family possesses, and made to leap into the centre of a huge fire built by members of the family.

The first night of the period of ten days, during which all the above restrictions and regulations are in force, a dance is held. To this and the dances of the succeeding nights, many relatives and friends are invited; but all these do not arrive in time for the first dance. In this, the girl, painted as described, and dressed in her ordinary clothes (to which, however, deer-hoof rattles are attached), dances before all who are assembled. She wears the feather visor or cap, and carries deer-hoof rattles in her hands. The assembly at first consists mainly of women, although some men are always present. All the onlookers sit in rows, facing eastward, their backs to a large fire, lit to give light. Most of the men and

women have rattles similar to that held by the girl. Some, however, have sticks with which they beat time on thin boards. The girl dances back and forth, east and west, always keeping her face to the east and her back to the fire. She herself does not sing, and when she grows tired, a man (or two men) dances with her, supporting part of her weight.

After this style of dancing has gone on for some time, a change occurs. In the succeeding form of dance, a large ring is made by the whole audience, on the east side of the fire, or two concentric rings, if the number is large. All hold hands, the girl and two or more helpers, however, standing in the middle of the ring, facing east, and dancing sideways from north to south; while the ring dances round them, first in one direction, and then in the other, singing the while.

By this time, it is probable that several parties of friends or relatives have arrived from neighboring villages. These may not, however, join in until certain ceremonies have first been gone through. A party, composed partly of men and partly of women, arriving near where the dance is going on, cut bunches of brush, and, holding their bows and arrows, advance slowly, crying out that they are coming, in order to warn the dancers of their approach. All are painted as if for a war-dance. As soon as the shout is heard, the dancers engaged in the "round dance" instantly stop, and the visitors approach in a long line, their backs to the fire, and the bunches of brush held over their faces, to conceal their identity. Then, holding the bunch of brush in both hands, the men point first to the right, and then to the left, and then all dance. This pointing and dancing alternate five times, while the girl herself comes out from the circle of dancers and runs back and forth in front of the line of visitors, keeping time with their song.

The pointing and dancing having alternated five times, the men throw away the brush, and, locking arms, dance sideways, this way and that, to a very lively song. At this juncture, the girls and women of the visiting-party, who thus far have remained out in the brush, run up, each seizing from behind the belt of a man, and dancing behind him, holding the belt

in both hands. The girl herself at this stage stands at one side, still facing to the east. Five times the visiting men and women dance in line thus, the women holding the men by the belt; then all suddenly start, and run as fast as they can in a circle around the girl for whom the whole ceremony is held, and also around the whole dance-place, where all the other persons are standing or sitting. This being done, they at once fall into the circle of the "round dance" (interrupted by their arrival), and the latter dance then begins again as before, now with a larger number of dancers. The "round dance" is then continued till nearly dawn. This same ceremony is gone through with, in its entirety, with every new party of guests arriving. It sometimes happens that in the "round dance," the girl, or Wā'pxi, as she is called, leaves her place in the centre of the ring for a time, and joins in with those forming the circle, later returning to her place.

These two types of dances, the Ku'stirūma and the K'lè'pxig, are kept up every night of the period of ten days during which the Wā'pxi has to remain in the hut, fasting, and gathering wood in the daytime, as above described. Toward the end of the period, — what with her fasting, her daily labor in carrying wood, and her long hours of dancing every night, — the Wā'pxi often gets so weak that she has to be supported almost constantly in the dance. On the tenth and last night she must remain in the centre of the ring of the K'lè'pxig all the time, not leaving it at all. This night, the dance is kept up till dawn, when all stop for breakfast. This over, several different songs are sung and the dance is continued. As noon approaches, one or two of her men supporters now and then tap the feather visor which the Wā'pxi has worn all the time, and then lift it up a little, replacing it, however, at once. As time goes on, the visor is raised higher and higher, till finally it is taken entirely off and held over the head, only to be again put back. As noon comes still nearer, the visor is taken off and thrown into the air, and put back again, till, when it is just noon, the head-dress is removed, and thrown high into the air toward the east (outside the ring of the dancers), and is there caught by a man sent out for the purpose.

Immediately the dance stops, and the girl and her mother go to the river, where they bathe, and put on new, clean clothes. While this takes place, the others sit down and rest. The girl now returns, dressed in her best, with all her ornaments, and all present then dance the war-dance; the girl dancing back and forth before the others, accompanied now by a young girl who as yet has not gone through the ceremony. The girl and her aid stand at opposite ends of the line, and dance then to the opposite end, and return, as described in speaking of the war-dance. When this dance is over, the girl's mother brings out a quantity of food in baskets, and all the guests partake, after which they return to their homes, and the ceremony is ended.

The entire ceremony, however, in all its details, is repeated again on the occasion of the next two menstrual periods, and then, and only then, is the girl considered marriageable. The whole triple ceremony is one of great expense to the girl's family, as they have to lodge and feed the guests during the whole period of ten days each time. It is said that here, as among the Maidu, the last night of the ceremony in each case is one of great license, in which all women (old and young, married and single) are regarded as free to all; and couples drop out of the ring of the dance, returning later to take their places again.

At succeeding periods, after the completion of the three puberty-dances, a woman secludes herself for five days in her menstrual hut, eats only dried fish and acorns, and at the end of the time bathes before returning to the family house. Should a woman be taken unexpectedly ill while in the latter house, all men leave at once, taking with them their bows, spears, and nets, lest they become contaminated, and thus all luck desert them.

MARRIAGE.—There is considerable variety in the customs relating to marriage, in regard to the manner of obtaining a wife. In wealthy families, it is often the custom to betroth the children while still very young, the father of the boy paying at that time to the family of the girl the full purchase-money. The couple may not happen, however, to meet

till the very day of the marriage, for the wife is generally, although not always, chosen from another village. The consent of the girl in such cases is not needed, and often she is married against her will. The girl is, in cases of betrothal like this, simply brought home by the father and mother of the boy, after she has passed through the puberty ceremony. All the relations then assemble. There is a big feast, but no dancing. The girl is left at the young husband's house for three or four months, and then the couple, with some of their relatives, go on a visit to the bride's family. When the bridal party first comes to the groom's house, they come in all their best; and these gala clothes and ornaments are left as a present with the groom's family. The same display is used when the two newly married people and their relatives visit the bride's family; and the clothes and ornaments worn on this occasion are presented to the family of the bride, thus returning the gift made to the husband's family in the first place. There thus results an interchange of property. The visit made by the newly wedded pair to the bride's parents lasts, as a rule, from a week to two weeks, after which time the couple return to the home of the husband's father. As a rule, the young married people live at the house of the husband's father, and do not build a new house for themselves.

If a man is poor, he is obliged to follow another plan in securing a wife. Under these circumstances, he has to go and seek his bride for himself. Having found a girl whom he favors, his relatives and friends all help him to gather together the purchase-money which they regard as sufficient. He then takes this in person to the girl's family. If they consider the amount satisfactory, and like the appearance of the man and his reputation, they accept the property, and the girl is his. If a man is known to be a good hunter and a good man, he is often gladly accepted by the girl's parents as a son-in-law, even if he is unable to pay in full at once. Under such conditions, he pays the remainder of the price later, as he is able.

Should a man be unable to pay anything for his wife, he

may yet be accepted, but only on condition that he live with his father-in-law, and hunt and work for him, till an equivalent of the purchase-money has been paid.

Thus it is regarded as essential to have a definite sum of money paid, directly or indirectly, for a wife, in order that her children's value shall be fixed. There is also a direct incentive on both sides to set a good price; for by custom each child is valued at a sum equal to the purchase-price of the mother, and, if the child is killed or injured, blood-money to this amount can be demanded.

If a girl is known to be immoral, her parents are glad to get rid of her for a very small sum, and both she and the man who marries her are looked down upon. Should a man elope with a girl, there is apt to be serious trouble, yet, if he pays her full value afterwards, the affair is, as a rule, regarded as settled. Should he elope with a girl who is not yet of age, the matter is not so easily adjusted. Occasionally a girl is sent by her parents to a man known to be of good character and a good hunter. She is sent free, as it were, and no money-payment is asked. The man is not obliged to accept the girl; but to be refused in such cases is considered a great disgrace.

The ordinary people rarely buy more than one wife, and, if they have more than one, the others are generally obtained through the custom of the levirate, or by capture in war. Inasmuch as, among all but the wealthy, a man's brothers and relatives always contribute to aid him in buying a wife, it is regarded as only proper and just, that, should he die, the wife whom the brother has helped to pay for should be given to him in return for his aid. Failing a brother, any male relative will do. When a man has more than one wife, the first one (or the one he purchased) is always the head of the family. The wealthy can and often do buy more than one wife, and in such cases, where all are obtained on the same basis, there is no distinction between them.

If a wife fails to bear children to her husband, his parents complain to her parents, and, if the wife has sisters or cousins who are unmarried, the wife's family sends one of them to the

man as a second wife, free. Sometimes, however, the husband simply sends his wife back to her family, who are then obliged to refund to him the original purchase-money, and are obliged to return just the same sort of property which was originally given. If the wife is immoral, whether she has borne children or not, the husband can similarly send her home and receive back the original payment. If a man chooses, he may divorce his wife at any time, with or without reason, and send her home; but if he cannot prove her to have been immoral, and unless she is barren, he can claim nothing from her family. In such a case, or if in either of the other cases, the purchase-price is not returned by the wife's family and the woman remarries, the first husband's relatives, or he himself, will, if possible, kill the second husband. If the payment originally made for the wife is refunded, however, the husband and his relatives cannot object to any remarriage. Usually a divorced woman does not remarry, but becomes to all intents and purposes a prostitute.

A woman may at any time leave her husband, if she has cause; but in such cases her family always force her to return at once. If she refuses, she may be killed. Should a man's wife die, he may not remarry for a year, and then only within the family of his deceased wife. Should her family not include any marriageable person, or should they be willing, he may take as his second wife some one not related to his first. This permission must in all cases, however, be obtained. In such cases of a second marriage inside the first wife's family, one of her sisters or cousins is generally chosen, and for her a small payment only is made.

In cases of adultery, the aggrieved husband always kills the man, if possible. None of the offender's relatives may interfere, and money-payment is never even offered in lieu of the blood-revenge. When the man has been killed, both families meet together and settle on a small payment for the murder. Should a man, however, have been too poor to pay for his wife, and have had, as above described, to live with his father-in-law, then, in case of adultery, he has no redress whatever. He may leave her if he chooses, to be

sure, or may stay with her, but he can neither get damages from her family, nor take revenge on the man who has wronged him.

The property given for a wife formerly varied greatly, but an average price is said to have been one or two deerskins, fifteen or twenty long dentalia, ten or fifteen strings of disk beads, and twenty or thirty woodpecker-scalps.

DEATH AND BURIAL. — When a person dies, the body is at once taken out of the house through an opening made in the roof. It is laid out, washed, and dressed in the best clothes the person has. Should the death be a sudden one, the body is kept four or five days before burial, so that relatives living at a distance may have time to arrive. During this time, the body lies outside the house, with a fire burning near by, and it is moved about from time to time, not being allowed to remain in the same spot for more than an hour or two. During the period which elapses between the death and the burial, the relatives must sleep but very little. If the deceased has been ill long, the burial is generally immediate, as all the friends are likely to be near.

As soon as possible after the body has been prepared, relatives and friends who are or have been recently ill, or had trouble of any sort, gather about, each carrying a small fir pole some two metres in length, trimmed of branches, except at the tip. The relatives and friends form in a procession, and dance, weeping, in a ring about the body, speaking to the dead, and telling him that he is going to another world, and begging him to take with him all their pains and troubles, and carry them far away. This is kept up as long as the body remains unburied, one party changing off with another in the dance. When this portion of the ceremony is over, the nearest relative of the deceased collects the poles carried by the dancers, and piles them at one side, to be used later in making the paling about the grave. A fire is kept burning, as has been said, near the body; and in the evening some of the younger people go off and collect fir-branches, which they attach to their heads and about their waists, neck, arms, and legs, and then return, singing, to dance about

the body. If the man has been killed in war, the dancers carry bows and arrows, and knives, instead of branches, in their hands. After the dance is over, the fir-branches are stripped from the dancers by the nearest relative of the deceased, and piled in a heap, to be used to line the grave with when the time for the burial arrives. As the branches are stripped from the dancers, several men seize the body, and raise it high in the air. By this time, the body has probably been already rolled in skins, and securely tied. Near relatives, at this time, often gash their arms and legs as a sign of mourning. All relatives and friends who come to the ceremony bring a little shell-money, which they lay on the body. Part of the beads thus given are buried with the person, being pounded up fine, and mixed with earth or sand, and sprinkled over the top of the grave after it is filled in. Besides shell-money, friends and relatives bring, as a rule, some other property as gifts to be buried with the deceased. Of these gifts, they get a portion returned to them, part only being buried.

When the dance is over, the burial takes place. This occurs always at mid-day, or as near it as possible. Two relatives, as a rule, dig the grave, which is made a little over waist-deep. Each village has its own graveyard, generally on a small flat or bench near by, although, in some cases, as much as a mile or more away. There is some doubt as to whether the grave-diggers are paid for their work. The grave, being prepared, is next lined with fir-branches, those used in the dance being commonly used. The body, rolled in skins, is then placed in the excavation, extended, and lying on the back, the head toward the east. One informant stated that a side excavation is made at the bottom of the grave-pit, and the body put into it, a stone being then placed over the opening, and the pit filled in. This is said to be done on account of grizzly bears. With the body is placed the man's bow and arrows, spear, and other implements; or baskets, etc., with a woman. No food is placed in the grave, however. In the case of a man, one or more of his best hunting-dogs is buried with him, the dog being first strangled or hung. All property

put into the grave is first broken. The grave is filled in after these objects have been placed within it, and a fence is built around it, of the poles used at the dance. On these poles, baskets are placed, the poles passing through holes made in the bottoms of the baskets.¹

The burial over, all present go and bathe and then return to the village. The house occupied by the deceased is thoroughly swept out and cleaned; and the sweepings, with much of the old paraphernalia lying about, are burned. Sometimes the fir-branches used for this fire are those worn in the dance. Occasionally the house is burned also.

In case a man dies far from home, he is buried in the local cemetery; but later, when the body has decayed, the bones are dug up, and removed to the burial-place of the person's own village. The local residents pay for having the bones exhumed and carried away. The person who digs up the bones and carries them home is considered unclean, and must fast and sweat for five days. Formerly if a man were killed, or died at a distance, he was in some cases cremated, instead of buried as just stated, and only the heart or the ashes brought home for burial.

A five-days' fast, with sweating, is also obligatory upon the grave-diggers and all near relatives, at the time of an ordinary funeral. At the end of this period, all assemble again, and hold a "cry," and then disperse to their own homes. At intervals, for a year, near relatives "cry" for the dead; but this is purely an individual matter, and is indulged in whenever desired.

For mourning, both men and women cut the hair short. The hair cut off is burned by some and by others kept carefully. In case of a widower, it is obligatory for him to keep his hair short till he remarries. The woman, in addition to cutting her hair, must put pitch and charcoal on her head and face, sometimes mixed also with a little red paint. This is worn for a year, at any rate. If she is taken as a wife by her husband's brother or relative, under the custom of the levirate, the

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

pitch is not worn longer than this: otherwise it may be worn for several years. For the ten days after her husband's death, the widow must remain alone, and take daily sweat-baths. Widows and widowers, or parents who have lost a child, must also wear a belt made of willow-bark rolled up, or of the hair cut off in mourning (see Fig. 95).

If a child dies within five days after birth, it is given no regular funeral, the father simply burying it alone, and then remaining, for a period of ten days, with his wife in her menstrual hut. This occasion is the only one on which a man may enter these huts. Every night the father must carry wood, and every day he must take sweat-baths. The mother has to remain in the hut for an entire month. The death of the child brings bad luck to the father, and he must therefore go frequently to the graveyard, walk about, and listen. He will then hear persons talking to him, but cannot see them. He talks to them of his luck, asks that he may hereafter have better success than before, and the voices then tell him whether or not his request is granted. He must also go out frequently at night, entirely naked, and run along trails through the hills. Should he see anything move, or hear anything cry out, or any person walking or running behind him, he must not be afraid. If he jumps or gets scared under such conditions, he will lose his luck again. He must, on these lonely night-wanderings, always return by a trail different from that by which he went.

The ceremonies held for a shaman vary little from those for other people, just described, except that some of the shaman's feather ornaments are hung up about the grave, and the rocks near by are spotted with yellow and blue paint.

RELIGION.

BELIEFS REGARDING THE SOUL.—To the Shasta, apparently, "ghost," "soul," and "life" are practically synonymous terms. Ghosts are much feared, and are seen in the form of flickering flames or vague lights, chiefly in the vicinity of graveyards. To see them brings bad luck, or

even death. The ghost or soul often is thought to leave the body of a person some hours before death; and there are some persons who have the faculty of seeing these ghosts, and who are thus able to tell in advance that the person in question is going to die. The shade, on such occasions, detaches itself from the body, goes about the house (gathering up various little personal effects), and finally goes out the door and walks away. The body of the sick person may continue to breathe for hours; but in the opinion of the Shasta the life, the soul, has already gone. No shaman is able to bring back the soul, once it has left the body. Sometimes the seer, who has the gift of seeing these departing souls, may be miles away from the dying person, but yet be able to see the shade.¹ In some cases, the seers do not see the shade itself, but merely a sort of shimmering, white trail, on which dark-colored footprints form. These tracks slowly and silently approach, formed by no visible object, pass, and go on into the distance. From the characteristics of the track, the seer knows at once whose shade it is that is passing, and who it is who is about to die. In some cases, however, the soul or shade does not leave the body till death is apparent to the watchers by the body.

On leaving the body, the ghost travels slowly westward, being rejoiced on its way by the dances held at the funeral. At some point far to the west, the shade ascends to the sky, and, travelling along the Milky Way, passes eastward to the other world, which, by the Shasta, does not seem to be very clearly conceived. It is, however, a pleasant place, where food is always plenty and the ghosts make merry. There is a certain species of yellow-breasted bird which sings and whistles in a plaintive manner, and which migrates up the Klamath in the spring, and returns to the west in the autumn. These small birds are in some way supposed to come from and return to the land of the dead. Another informant gave a different belief in regard to the soul; namely that it, or the "heart," rose to the sky at once on the death of a person, and

¹ Laflesche, *Death and Funeral Customs among the Omaha* (Journal of American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. II, pp. 3-12).

that it could be heard rising, and finally causing a dull thud or muffled boom as it struck the solid vault of the sky.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD. — The general ideas as to the origin and shape of the world appear to be rather vague. There is among the Shasta, so far as can be discovered, no clear idea of a creation; the world, in some form or other, having always, in their opinion, existed. Of a Creator there is little trace, and his place seems filled very inadequately by Coyote and one or two other beings; the former not as consistently evil-minded or so much of a pure trickster as among the Maidu, for example.

Five is, among the Shasta, emphatically the sacred number, and appears constantly in the ceremonials and myths, either singly or in multiple, as ten or fifteen. There seems, however, to be no trace of the fifth cardinal point found among the Maidu.¹

The entire area occupied by the Shasta is thought of as thronged with spiritual, mysterious powers, spoken of as Axè'ki, or "pains." These are conceived of in human form (rather shorter than the ordinary stature), and as inhabiting rocks, cliffs, lakes, and mountain summits, and rapids and eddies in streams. Many animals are also regarded as Axè'ki. They are the cause of all disease, death, and trouble, and become the guardians of the shamans, and are often inherited by them.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS. — If the new moon, when it rises, has the points of the crescent directed upward, there will be sickness, and no rain. If the points are turned in the opposite direction, or horizontally, there will be rain, but no sickness.

An eclipse of the moon is due to the dog that follows the moon, eating it up. People talk, therefore, to the dog, entreating it to desist, and howl and shout to frighten it away.

Splinters from a tree struck by lightning, if burned, will cause a thunderstorm. Seaweed, if brought inland, will also cause a storm, which may be averted, however, by burying the seaweed.

¹ See this volume, p. 264.

If children do not learn the stories that are repeated to them, they will grow up hump-backed. Boys are not allowed to eat the fat on the joint of the hind legs of the deer, or that at the back of the ears, for if they should eat it they would have weak knees and poor hearing.

If boys mock the bird known as *kū'kwax*, their hair will get full of lice.

If a stranger goes up on a high ridge in summer-time, and rolls about or tramples on the grass, it will rain. There is also a kind of root that grows high up in the hills. If this be burned, the sky clouds over at once, and rain will surely fall in two or three days.

If *parhelia* are seen near the sun at rising, it betokens war. If one of the mock-suns fades before the other, then the persistent one points in the direction of those who are to be beaten in the conflict.

SHAMANISM. — The Shasta shamans are persons of great importance in the community, and in them and their ceremonies almost the whole ritual of the people is included. So far as known, the features connected with the shamans are substantially alike throughout the Shasta area, but the description here given applies strictly, however, only to the Shasta of the Klamath River and Scott Valley.

Unlike the *Maidu*, the Shasta shamans are largely women. Male shamans are known, however, and are more numerous in some sections than in others. For the most part, the position of shaman is hereditary, although it does not always happen that the children of a shaman follow in their parent's footsteps. In any case, the child cannot become a shaman during the lifetime of the parent.

The first indications that a person has that he or she is to be a shaman are dreams. These dreams are of various sorts. Sometimes the ghost of the person's mother or father, or some earlier ancestor, comes in the dreams. Or the vision may be of some great rock or cliff. These dreams recur again and again, till the person becomes impressed and alarmed. In other cases, and apparently more commonly, the dream is a sort of nightmare, as of a skeleton boat, of falling from a

cliff or tree, of just keeping out of the reach of a grizzly bear, or of being on a steep side-hill above a great lake, and diving into the latter from a great height; in all cases the dreamer awakening with a start just before the final catastrophe. After a more or less protracted period during which these dreams recur, the person dreams of swarms of yellow-jackets. This is regarded as conclusive evidence of the supernatural character of the dreams, as the yellow-jackets are Axè'ki, or "pains." While these dreams are occurring, the person must eat no meat, nor eat in company with people who are eating meat: indeed, not even the smell of meat cooking must be inhaled. Eating must also be done very slowly.

As soon as it becomes certain that the person is to become a shaman, he or she must at once begin to get together a number of things which every shaman must have, and must begin to paint as shamans do. If the dreamer takes no notice of the dreams, and fails to carry out the requisite food-restrictions, he or she will certainly fall ill, and, a shaman being called in to cure them, the real cause of the sickness will be discovered. Continued refusal to accept the position of shaman often results in the death of the person. The paraphernalia with which a shaman is supposed to be provided are numerous. In general, they consist of the following list: ten buck-skins, ten silver-gray fox-skins, ten wolf-skins, ten coyote-skins, ten fisher-skins, ten otter-skins, ten small dish-baskets, ten small bowl-baskets, the tail and wing feathers of the eagle (ten each), and the tails of ten yellow-hammers and of ten large woodpeckers. Other things (not necessarily in tens) are a supply of red, blue, and yellow paint, and a buck-skin pierced full of holes, to be thrown over the head while sleeping. The collection of this considerable amount of property often consumes several years; but the novice must have the list complete before he or she is allowed to attempt the cure of a sick person, or to take the part of a real shaman.

When the dreams above referred to begin, and the person is convinced that she (for, as already stated, the majority of shamans are women) is destined to become a shaman, she informs her family, and they watch her closely. She goes

about her usual work for a time, and then suddenly some day, late in the afternoon, she hears a man speak to her in a clear, ringing tone of great intensity. The voice always appears to come from directly above her head. She turns at once, and sees a man standing behind her holding a bow and arrow, the arrow drawn and pointing directly at her heart. The man tells her he wishes her to sing whatever he commands, and threatens to shoot if she does not acquiesce. All of this happens so suddenly and unexpectedly, that she immediately falls senseless to the ground. While in this swoon, the woman breathes very faintly, and lies perfectly rigid and still. The family, who have been waiting for this seizure, now begin to cry and wail, and call in all the neighbors. After sunset, the woman begins to moan gently, and to roll about on the ground, trembling violently all over. It is supposed, that, while the woman is in her trance, the Axè'ki who appeared to her sings her a song, which she learns, and repeats faintly now as she moans and whines on the ground. She slowly revives, and then sings the song clearly and strongly, and in this the Axè'ki is supposed to accompany her by a faint humming. At this time he tells her his name and the place where he lives. After a time she calls out the name of the Axè'ki, and at this, blood oozes from her mouth, usually ten times in succession.

She gradually comes completely to herself, rises to her feet, and then dances, holding herself up by a rope which is hung from the roof. The next feature of the ceremony is for her to carry out the commands of the Axè'ki. She may, for example, at his request, ask those present to carry her ten times about the fire. This is done as she lies at full-length on an elk-skin, which is then lifted by four men, who carry the woman around the fire, head first, and deposit her on the ground again, with her head to the east. The circuit is always sinistral. Or the novice may ask to be swung ten times over the fire. This is done by those present stretching a rope horizontally across the house above the fire, from which rope the woman hangs by her knees (head downward, and toward the east), and is then swung back and forth

across the fire ten times. This completed, she stands up and again dances, facing now the place where the Axè'ki lives.¹ She continues to repeat her song, and also other things which the Axè'ki has told her.

The day following this first ceremonial, the woman sleeps, and eats very sparingly, drinking water which has had acorn-meal stirred² into it. The following night she dances again, as before; and so for three days and nights. On the third night, if she has carried out the Axè'ki's commands and omitted nothing of the dance or songs, he comes to her again. He says, "I shall shoot you with this pain (Axè'ki) to see if you are strong enough to stand it. If you are, you shall be my friend, my companion." The novice meanwhile is dancing, and when she hears the Axè'ki speak, she calls out, "He will shoot me. He is going to shoot me." The friends stand about; and when, a moment later, the novice is supposed to be shot by the Axè'ki, they rush up, and catch her as she reels and falls, stiffening again in a sort of cataleptic seizure. They must catch her before she falls, or she will die. The novice, now senseless again, is laid gently on a buckskin, and all keep very quiet. By and by she revives, and sings her song once more. Now she is supposed to have the pain shot by the Axè'ki in her body, and, getting up, she dances, and, as she does so, takes the pain out of her body, and shows it to all present. These pains, which are called by the same term (Axè'ki) as the mysterious beings who shoot them, are described generally as looking like tiny icicles. Some, however, are as much as fifteen centimetres long, spindle-shaped, and very sharp at the ends. The pain is held by the dancer in her closed fist, just the point being allowed to protrude. After a while she presses her hand to her forehead, and the pain disappears. Later the dancer stoops, and may take the pain out of her heel, for instance. She passes it into one ear, and takes it out of the other. The more powerful the Axè'ki and the greater the shaman, the larger are these pains. Finally, she puts the pain into one

¹ The most important are said to be those living along the Stewart and Rogue Rivers in Oregon.

shoulder, and takes it out of the other. On this third night, and on the fourth and fifth nights of her dance, other Axè'ki come to the novice, and each may give her a pain; so that at the end of the five-nights' dancing she may have four or five of them. All shamans seem to have three pains at least, and to carry these about in their body all the time, one being in each shoulder, and one in the back of the head. For this reason it is very dangerous to touch or strike a shaman at these points, as to do so angers the pain, and death is likely to be the result for the person who has touched or struck them.

The five days and nights being over, the novice ceases to dance, and does not begin again till the following winter. For ten days after the dance is over, she must continue her fasting, and only at the end of that period may she again eat meat, or eat with other people. During the interval of many months which elapses before she again begins to dance, she lives very quietly, has no dreams, and does not attempt in any way to "practise" as a shaman. Meanwhile her family aid her in gathering the list of skins and other things detailed above.

When the winter period comes again, the novice announces her intention of dancing once more; and all her friends and relatives, together with an older shaman or two, assemble for the affair. Should she have been unsuccessful in getting together all the things needed, she delays the ceremony till the following year. Everything being in readiness, the father of the novice, provided he be not a shaman himself, cuts, and sets up in the ground outside the house, a pole some three or four metres high, and decorates it with paint and a few feathers. About sundown, the novice and an older shaman (often a man) go to the pole, and the novice requests the shaman to call her Axè'ki, or guardian, telling the man what words to use. The novice then returns to the house and goes to sleep, the man meanwhile calling on the Axè'ki to come. While the novice sleeps, all the guests and friends keep very quiet, and move about, if they have to, very slowly and softly. After a time, the novice begins to roll about, and whine and moan, as on the occasion of her first attack. She then gets up and

sings and dances, till, about midnight, the Axè'ki arrives. As soon as this occurs, the woman lies down again and sleeps, while all the guests eat and talk quietly together. Before daylight, the Axè'ki is supposed to leave, as he must get back to his home before dawn. If the woman has more than one Axè'ki for her guardian, she asks her father to set up more than one pole, there being as many poles as the novice has guardians. The objects mentioned in the list on p. 472 must apparently be provided for each of these Axè'ki; and the objects themselves are at this ceremony piled up at the foot of the pole for the Axè'ki to see. The sleeping, dancing, and singing are continued by the novice for three nights, as above, and then, and only then, is she regarded as a completely qualified shaman.

All these dances and ceremonies are held in the novice's own house. Each of the Axè'ki whom the woman secures as a guardian tells her how he wishes her to paint for him, and each tells her a slightly different way. The shamans are usually "made," in the manner described, during the winter season; for it is then that the Axè'ki are supposed to be about, standing invisibly near the houses, watching people all the time. The Axè'ki are scattered all over the country. Some live in rocks or mountains; others, in streams or lakes; and there are also Axè'ki (or an Axè'ki) in the sun, the moon, and various stars, as well as in the rainbow. A large number of animals are themselves Axè'ki. The Axè'ki are always trying to shoot people with the pains which they carry, and for this reason ordinary people avoid the spots where Axè'ki are known to live. Even shamans dislike sometimes to go to their dwelling-places, for, if the shaman has failed to heed in every particular the commands of the Axè'ki, the latter will shoot and kill her. To the shaman, her Axè'ki friends tell everything, what to eat and when, and, in fact, prescribe her every action. Some of the Axè'ki are much more powerful than others, the most important and powerful of all living, as before stated, on the Rogue River. The more powerful the Axè'ki the shaman has as her guardian, the greater feats she can perform. As a rule, the shaman can only hold

converse with the Axè'ki at night. The Axè'ki tell the shaman, in advance, when a person is going to be shot and made ill. After a person becomes a shaman, she is able to see all over the country, and discover the Axè'ki everywhere. She can also hear them singing all the time, and there are so many of them, that it sounds "like a field of locusts." A given Axè'ki is the friend or guardian of one particular shaman, and has nothing whatever to do with any one else; although other shamans can hear him singing, of course. An Axè'ki is, as a rule, hereditary in a family, being the guardian of generation after generation of shamans. Sometimes an Axè'ki may desert a family and go over to another shaman. Besides these pledged Axè'ki, there are a great number of friendless ones, — those who owe no allegiance to any family, and may, in consequence, be acquired by any shaman. These unpledged Axè'ki vary greatly in power, and, if a shaman has good luck, she may attract to herself several of these, of greater power than those inherited.

It is thought that a powerful shaman can make another person a shaman, if he or she wills. To do this, the person wishing to become a shaman lies on the ground, and the one who is to perform the ceremony stands behind him or her, holding a pain in each hand. These she points at the novice's ears, when blood is supposed to flow at once, thus "clearing the ears," so that he or she may be able to hear the Axè'ki singing. The shaman then proceeds to put a pain into the person's forehead, between the eyes, after which the person's eyes are supposed to be opened, so that he or she can see the Axè'ki. A very large fee has to be paid to the officiating shaman for these services, and then, when this stage of the ceremony has been reached, the novice has to proceed as any other novice, and as already described.

As stated already, every shaman receives from each Axè'ki a pain in the form of a small spindle-shaped object looking like ice. These are what are shot into people by the Axè'ki themselves, or by shamans, and which, on entering the body, cause disease and death. On the death of a shaman, all the pains in her possession go back to the various Axè'ki from

whom they originally came, and are given out again by the several Axè'ki to the next generation of friends. It is said that the pains, on being shot into a person, live upon him, and thus cause his death. They may occupy a period of years in bringing about the death of the individual, and, the longer they remain in the body, the larger they grow. A shaman can see the pains in the bodies of other persons into whom they have been shot. When a shaman comes to a patient, her songs make the pain weak, and draw it to the surface, so that it can easily be extracted. When taken out, blood oozes from it, this blood being that of the person on whom it has been preying as a sort of parasite.

The methods of cure employed by a shaman vary according to the special case. In general, however, they are as follows. On being summoned, the shaman sets out, but stops about half a mile from where the patient lives. Here the shaman smokes, and as she (or he) does so, her Axè'ki tells her all about the case, and how long the patient is likely to live, if not cured. After a halt of about an hour, the shaman gets up and goes on to the patient's house. Friends are assembled, and the shaman dances and sings, watching the patient carefully the while. The songs are supposed to be repetitions of what her Axè'ki is saying to the dancer, and the latter tells the name of the Axè'ki by whose aid she hopes to cure the patient. The people present then say, "Kūs ya mai'i kwa'xō'o ūmtaxā'waki kwè'tirak. Kūs i'skwa tahā'tsu kihintè'ki mai'itsi sidā' makai'idiwā'ō" ("Now thou art speaking! He lives at Umtakā'wa. Now, O person, I wish you to doctor him. You, too, are a shaman?") The shaman then rests a while, and again dances. The patient then addresses the shaman, saying, "Yī! mī'kat-sūgě idiwā'ō tēh'kwai sdwā'hōsig. k!i'atsu i'nnā. Kūs ta'rakāyaho kwi'kli. Klē'hanōni sti'kisi, 'kū'skwa yā'ā wè idiwā'ō'" ("Yī! That one, a doctor he calls himself when he talks. Look! Now underground you will be, when you say 'I am a shaman'"). The shaman at this begins to suck at the seat of pain, and sucks out some red, black, or yellow clotted substance. This is not the pain, but is done merely to "clear the system." After removing this from the patient,

the shaman dances anew, approaching toward and receding from the patient, till suddenly, making a rush, she seizes the pain, and pulls it out in her hands. Sometimes the shaman exhibits the pain, sometimes not. Apparently it is not always clear and crystal-like, being described as occasionally resembling a fragment of bone or wood.

The pain, once extracted, may be disposed of in various ways. It may simply be thrown violently away in the direction of the Axè'ki who is supposed to have sent it, this motion being accompanied by a long-drawn sound resembling "brrrrrr," made entirely with the lips. In other instances, the hands holding the pain are put into a basket of warm water, and the pain left there to soak a while, with an open-work tray-basket placed over the top of the basket as a cover. After the pain has been thoroughly softened, it is taken out and placed in a half mussel-shell, with a small quantity of various herbs and roots in powdered form. Some pitch is put over the whole, the other half of the mussel-shell put over it all as a cover, and then the whole thing put in a hole in the embers, the fire being quickly raked over all. If the pain is supposed to have been sent or shot by some other shaman who is trying, either for personal revenge or for money, to kill the patient, the pain is broken. This is thought to cause the immediate death of the guilty person, and the broken pain is supposed at once to depart to the grave of its owner, and remain there. In still other cases, the shaman who extracts the pain will put it in her mouth, chew it up, and swallow it. Sometimes, instead of sucking directly at the seat of pain, the shaman places one or two eagle-feathers with their tips on the body and their butts in her mouth, and, while sucking on these, runs her hand down the feathers, squeezing out blood, which is collected in a basket of water.

New shamans rarely receive payment for their services, and only as they grow older and more experienced do they make a charge for their performances. If a patient dies, the shaman receives only half the fee; and if too many of a person's patients fail to recover, the shaman is killed, for it is believed that a shaman can always cure a patient if she only wishes to.

The shamans themselves are informed by their Axè'ki when the time comes for their death, and, as the time approaches, all a shaman's Axè'ki desert her, and no other Axè'ki will aid in extracting pains from her body, so that the shaman inevitably dies. In order to get a shaman to try to kill an enemy by shooting a pain into him, a large payment has to be made, inasmuch as it is very risky work. Shamans are



Fig. 115 ($\frac{89}{1075}$). Shaman's Head-dress. Length, 114 cm.

supposed sometimes to send a mild pain to a village, making many persons ill; and then the shaman herself comes to the place on a visit, having prepared in this way professional work in advance.

The paints and ornaments worn by shamans while officiating vary a good deal. Yellow paint made from pine-pollen, or from that of the alder or hazel, may be used only by shamans. Blue may be used by shamans whose Axè'ki is the sun; but they also use red and yellow, painting three parallel curves from the forehead to the chin, on one side of the face (one curve of each color), the whole representing the rainbow. Other shamans put stripes, lines, and dots on the face and breast. Shamans having the rattlesnake as an Axè'ki use dust as a paint.

If a shaman has the rattlesnake as one of her Axè'ki, she wears a rattlesnake-skin bound about her forehead. Her pipe-stem is also covered with the skin, and about her neck she wears a collar of the tail-feathers of the large woodpecker, to which rattlesnake-rattles are attached. These decorations are used only when doctoring a patient who has been bitten by a rattlesnake. It is not essential to have a shaman who has the rattlesnake as an Axè'ki, under such conditions; but it is regarded as better to have one, if possible. In Fig. 115, one form of a shaman's head-dress is shown. It consists of a head-band of otter-skin, from which depends, behind, a long strip of the same skin, nearly to the waist. The head-band is decorated with a feather pompon in the centre, and pendant feathers; while the back portion falling down behind has attached to it feather bands, tassels, and pendants, together with shells. A belt worn by shamans is shown in Fig. 116. This belt is tied around the waist by strings attached to the inside of the belt, several inches from its ends, thus leaving these ends flapping behind. To the belt an abundance of shells and beads are attached, together with feather tassels. The head-dress shown in Fig. 117 may be a shaman's head-dress, or it may be one worn in one of the dream-dances which form part of the ghost-dance as it reached this section some thirty years ago. It consists of a painted buckskin band, to which are attached erect feathers, a large woodpecker's scalp and bill, rattlesnake-rattles, and pendant feathers or tassels. With this is worn the painted buckskin skirt shown in Plate LXXII. Another head-dress is shown



Fig. 116 ($\frac{59}{409}$). Shaman's Belt. Length, 123 cm.

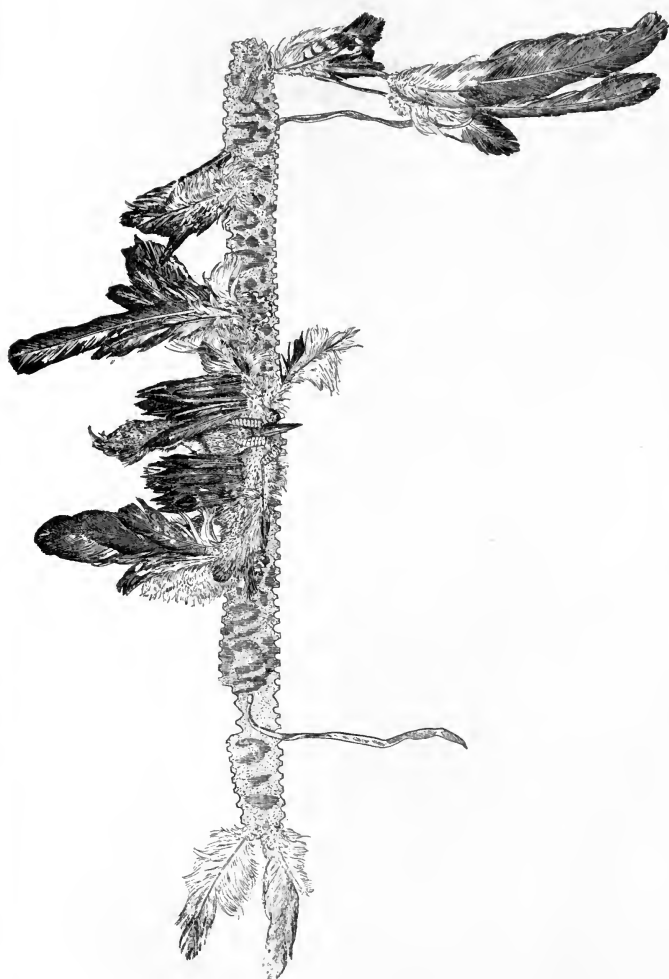


Fig. 117 (5188). Shaman's Head-dress. Length, 86 cm.

in Fig. 118. This is definitely declared to be worn in the dream-dance, and is made of a strip of otter-skin, to which feathers, shells, and tassels are thickly attached.

The previously given account of the ceremonial performed by the shamans seems to apply to the great majority; but those who have the rattlesnake or the grizzly bear as their Axè'ki appear to follow somewhat different lines. When the rattlesnake shaman comes to a patient who has been bitten, she first sucks out the poison, and then tells a friend of the sufferer, that she sees the rattlesnake Axè'ki, but that he is angry and will not look at her. The friend must then speak to the Axè'ki, calling him by name, and saying, "Mā i'nnā sku'tayak. Karahō'pighō karisā'ya ku'tayak" ("Not that do to me. Pity me. Do good to me"). The shaman then, after a few minutes' speaking of the Axè'ki, whom she sees somewhere far away, says, "Kūs kwā'okwāhir" ("Now he lights his pipe"). The Axè'ki is now supposed to smoke a while, and then to speak to the shaman, who reports to the patient and friend, "Kūs kwī'ag" ("Now he looks around"). The Axè'ki then says to the shaman, "Kī'yakahammak a'ts-waxkī'kki ètcěhě'wiyū ta'arakato i'rūtupsur" ("Hang it on the wall. Pine-bark ten earth's pollen"). This refers to the hanging-up, at this stage of the ceremony, of a sample of the beads and other things to be given as payment to the shaman for curing the patient. In addition, the Axè'ki demands for himself a piece of pine-bark on which are placed ten small heaps of puff-ball spores, which are called "pollen of the earth." The request having been complied with, the friend of the patient says to the shaman, "Kūs i'skwa kihintè'ki. Kūs kwi'kennūmūk mā'mū klahō'tsk!ihampig" ("Now do you dance and doctor. Now I have given you the things you asked for"). The shaman then puts on the snake paraphernalia, and dances, the rattlesnake Axè'ki being supposed to dance in unison at his home far away.

If a man be bitten by a grizzly bear, the grizzly Axè'ki must be called on to cure him. As in the case of the rattlesnake, a friend of the wounded man must call the grizzly Axè'ki by name, and a dialogue similar to that given takes place.

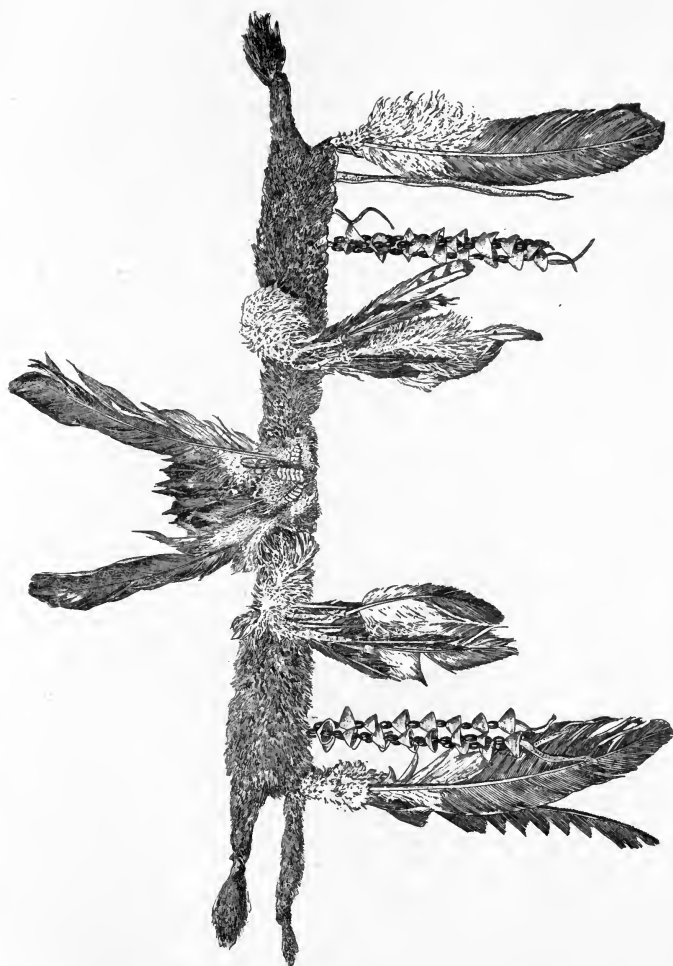


Fig. 113 ($\frac{489}{573}$). Head-dress worn in the Dream-dance. Length, 81 cm.

Other gifts, however, must be presented in this instance. A necessary part of these gifts is a deer-hide tanned with the hair on. This the shaman tears into pieces. All the people present at the ceremonial must be in plain sight, else the shaman will jump at them, and bite and scratch them as if he were a grizzly, for the grizzly seems mainly to be the guardian of male shamans. The shaman, in dancing, growls like a bear, and acts in every way like one. He wears a collar of grizzly-claws about his neck, and has a single broad red stripe painted from the forehead, over the crown of his head, to his neck. This represents the streak on the head of the bear. He also wears a collar of feathers similar to that worn by the rattlesnake shaman. The dance of the grizzly shaman consists chiefly in five sinistral circuits of the fire, made on all-fours, in the course of which he rolls over, and turns up the stones about the fireplace, as a bear turns over logs, etc., for ants and grubs. After this, he rushes suddenly at the patient, and, pouncing upon him, seizes in his hands, and extracts, what is supposed to be the tongue of the bear that bit him. This is at once put into a basket of warm water, and later is thrown into the river.

Bites of the mountain-lion can be cured by any shaman, who extracts the tongue of the animal from the wound. As stated previously, the sun and several stars are regarded as Axè'ki, or perhaps as having Axè'ki in them. It is not clear exactly what the idea is. These are supposed to be particularly efficacious in all eye-troubles. The sun, in addition, is of much help in arrow or gunshot wounds. Each entails on the shaman somewhat different ornaments, and each requires from the patient its own peculiar gifts. Thus the morning star requires a gift of the seeds of a small white, starlike flower known as "yū'mto." Ten small piles of this must be given, and the shaman must wear a yellow mō'kus-feather, a silver-gray foxskin, and must paint a stripe of red from the forehead, down the bridge of the nose and over the chin, to the throat and breast. The evening star, on the other hand, requires ten small piles of the seeds of a brilliant red flower known as "kumpi'sna," the shaman being obliged to wear a

skin as above, and to paint a horizontal stripe of red across the forehead, using as paint for this, powdered red clay, and not the red lichen used on other occasions. The sun demands skins of all kinds of land animals, and the shaman must paint with all colors, in the representation of the rainbow. There are also certain water-Axè'ki, who cause death by drowning. Here, when the relatives wish to find the body, the shaman has to dance, and the Axè'ki calls for pounded fishbones, which is set out in small dishes.

In many cases, a shaman or an Axè'ki may put a pain, or more, under the door-sill of a man's house; or the Axè'ki may station himself there, and thus try to kill all the people in that house. Or the pains may be put in a central location in a village, in order to kill all the inhabitants. When the presence of such a thing is suspected, because of much sickness, a powerful shaman is called to try to remove the source of all the trouble. On the shaman's arrival, a pole, painted in horizontal bands of red and black, is set up close to where the pains are supposed to be buried. To this pole are hung ten buckskins, ten platter-baskets, and ten small bowl-baskets, while ten hollow elder-sticks are stuck in the ground at the base of the pole. The shaman then calls her Axè'ki to come and aid her in raising the pains that are causing all the mischief. This done, she goes into the house, lies down on a buckskin, and remains there until sundown. At this time she begins to sing, rolling about on the floor meanwhile, finally standing up, and supporting herself by a rope. After some time she calls out, "Kūs ku'kwarats" ("Now he rises on his elbow"), referring to her guardian Axè'ki in his distant home, who hears her call, slowly rises, and comes to her aid. After dancing a little longer, she speaks again, saying, "Kūs kwū'kitcwits" ("Now he sits up, resting one hand on the ground"). After further dancing, she calls out, "Kūs kwūn-nè'kwāya" ("Now he sits with his hands clasped over his knees"). Again she dances, and, speaking to those assembled, says, "Kūs apsū'tohokwira" ("Now he reaches for his pipe"); then, "Kūs kwa'òkwahir" ("Now he smokes"). Then, after a longer period of dancing, the Axè'ki speaks to the shaman,

saying, "Kwā'tūk āwi kusŭ'kka sã tĩ'ikahīruk" ("Coyote's skin, worn out, I shall wish to see when I come"). He then asks for many other things also, and these must be supplied, and piled in ten piles at the base of the pole. Everything asked for is in tens, or is divided into ten parts. All being thus arranged, the shaman calls out that her Axè'ki is coming, flying through the air. She describes his flight. He is supposed to halt halfway, lighting on a pine-tree, which perhaps breaks under his weight; he comes on again, stopping on a side-hill, and causing a rock-slide, and finally arrives at the pole to which the gifts are hung. Then the shaman speaks to him, saying, "Ru'kwāmi" ("Push with your shoulder"), bidding him thus attempt to dislodge the evil-wishing Axè'ki, or the pains buried beneath the ground. If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them. In some cases, apparently, an Axè'ki himself is supposed to be thus buried, and then it is the Axè'ki, and not the actual pain, that is thus forced into the water.

Having accomplished the task set him, the shaman's guardian Axè'ki is supposed to go back to the pole, and there eats the food he has called for, and which has been placed there for him. If all that has been asked for is not there, the Axè'ki pounces on some one of the persons present, and kills and eats him instead. Meanwhile all the people present have a feast to celebrate their relief from the dangerous pains. When this is over, the shaman dances again, and the Axè'ki returns to his home. Sometimes the Axè'ki is supposed to catch cold, and so be unable to return, or to do so only with difficulty. They are supposed to be rather delicate, rarely going out of their houses, so that the exertion of coming so far makes them tired, and subject to a chill. When the ceremony is over, the shaman takes the things hung to the pole and piled about its base, and is supposed to carry them to the Axè'ki. The pole itself and the ten elder-sticks are carried by the shaman to the summit of some ridge near by, and there leaned against a tree, in the thick brush.

It is interesting to note that shamans are supposed to have the power to tell at once whether a person has done wrong in

any way. They are able to do this, because, when they look at a person who has stolen, or done anything wrong, the person seems to the shaman to be, as it is phrased, "covered with darkness."¹

Shamans never kept their feather or other dance ornaments in their houses, or within the precincts of the village, but always hid them a mile or so off, lest their mere presence should cause sickness and trouble to the people.

CEREMONIALS. — Except for the ceremonials for girls at puberty, the war-dance, and the shaman ceremonials just described, the Shasta appear to have practically nothing in the way of ritual. They have, so far as can be learned, nothing comparable to the long series of dances and ceremonies characteristic of the Maidu and other Central California peoples; nor do they have the white-deer dance, the jumping-dance, or other ceremonials characteristic of the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa. Thus, as a whole, their ritual is meagre. The Shasta near the Yurok boundary sometimes go down to attend the dances held there; but all informants are agreed that the Shasta themselves never hold them.

There are, however, one or two very simple ceremonials, whose purpose is merely to acquire luck. For example, on very dark rainy or windy nights, men go out alone, and naked, and walk all night, praying for luck, singing, seeing strange things pass them, and hearing strange voices calling.² Or on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and, after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and swim. There is also another method of acquiring luck, of which, however, only confused accounts have been secured. It may be practised by one man, or by several men at once, and consists, apparently, in scarifying the arms, thighs, and knees, rubbing some sort of powdered herb into the cuts, and then lying on the back in the sweat-house, and pounding the floor with one heel, singing meanwhile. This is done only in winter, and at night.

¹ Compare Boas, *The Eskimo of Baffin-Land and Hudson Bay* (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV, p. 120).

² Compare ante, p. 468.

There are songs which are sung to keep away rattlesnakes and to protect one from grizzly bears. The former are known to but few persons, and those chiefly women. Once a year, in winter, some one who knows the song goes to every house, and, while the children are asleep, sings the song. The persons knowing this song are well known, and are sent for far and wide. The grizzly-bear song is different, in that it is of no avail except for the person singing it, and may be used thus only when actually threatened with danger.

Various prayers were used for help on different occasions. In war, for example, the warrior would pray, "Pè'u, pè'u, Kūs ma'ii tè'dusig ò'mmakai kō'xwehā'hanōni kwi'ratāga. Kūs xa'tcipīta kitcīai'duk i'nna tcū ā'xta ku'kwannakwahirā'ka ū'mmauhī'tōhō ti'tsūruwxahā'pir" ("Pè'u, Pè'u, now you I ask for aid, up above sun-chief (?) going past. Now with your rays cover me up; that blood of the sunrise, stretching out before your face, throw it over against the other side"). If a man is going out to hunt grizzly bears, he builds a fire, makes a small offering of food, leaves, etc., and then prays, first stamping on the ground twice, but without crying out "pè'u," as before: thus, "Kūs ma'ii tè'duhūsīg wè ta'rāk mā'mū yā'had ku'nnirūxuswuk ma'ii tsā'pxo kwiti'psira mā'mu yā'had ku'nnirūxū'swug" ("Now you I ask for aid, this earth your child. Drag off from me the darkness going down, your child, drag it away"). The darkness here referred to is stated to be the darkness which disappears in the west at dawn. The fire being lit, and the offerings made, the hunter continues: "Kūs i'skwa i'mma. Tū'pahapir ma'ii wè u'tceēwa. Ka'rissa. Kūs nēwā'mmuk. Kūs i'skwa ku'kwaruxwahē'mpig mā'mu tcī'tak mī'katsūgwē makai' è'tca kadiwā' sta'karuxwahē'mpiyig. Kūs wè'kē kwi'tcistirē ki'nna araō'tō a'rawai" ("Now there is a fire. I throw it down for you a white cloud. Good it is. Now look at me. Now kick off hither the fleas, lice, etc., from your body. I hope you will kick off to me five mats. Now here I break sticks for the fire, over the leg of a deer"). Many of the allusions and expressions in these prayers are as yet not clear, and the above translation is only tentative.

Although the Shasta have no important ceremonials other

than those already described, they appear to have borrowed, in comparatively recent times, some from the Wintun of the upper Sacramento and McCloud region. The dance most generally adopted appears to be the so-called "big-head dance," in which a head-dress similar to the *dō* of the Maidu is worn.¹ This dance is said to have been adopted by the Shasta Valley people about thirty years ago. It seems probable, however, that it was known and used somewhat before this.

The ghost-dance movement reached this section of California about thirty or thirty-five years ago, apparently. It was learned from some Modocs who came on a visit to Yreka, and was introduced to the Klamath River section of the Shasta by the father of my chief informant. The ghost-dance, for a while, caused some excitement; but this soon died down, and the whole seems now to have disappeared. In general, the character of the dance seems to have been precisely that described by Dr. Kroeber among the Yurok and Karok.² Every one dreamed of, and was visited by, the spirits of the dead, who gave the dreamers songs. The songs and dances were supposed to bring back the dead, who were thought to be dancing back along the path to the other world. If a person did not believe the new dispensation, he would be turned to stone, or into some animal.

MYTHOLOGY.

The mythology of the Shasta is fairly abundant. In character, it differs very considerably from that of the Maidu or Wintun, resembling more the type of the stocks of the Northwestern area as exemplified by the Hupa and Wishosk. Taking the mythology as a whole, there is little system or sequence observable. Creation myths, so characteristic of the Central Californian area, are practically absent; and the distinction between the mythical age and the present era is much less clear. The rather consistent opposition, also, between a well

¹ See this volume, p. 292.

² Kroeber, Ghost-dance in California (Journal of American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XVII, pp. 32-36).

and an evil wishing power, so prominent in the Maidu, here fades out almost entirely.

In the myths, the Coyote is a very prominent figure, and while presenting without any diminution, to say the least, his characteristics as a trickster, he occasionally plays a more dignified part, and appears as a well-wisher and helper of mankind. The trickster and culture-hero characters are thus more blended than in Central California. Although Coyote is in part a destroyer of monsters, that the world may be a better place to live in, another being, known by various names, is also energetic in this line. One of the most prominent myths, told in slightly variant forms in different places, is that of the Lost Brother, in which one of two brothers is stolen by a monster. The remaining brother seeks for him far and wide, asks the sun for advice as to his whereabouts, and, after many adventures, finds the brother and rescues him, bringing him home safely at last.

As compared with the Maidu or the Wintun, the mythology of the Shasta seems quite uniform. Variants of several tales have been secured in different portions of the area occupied by the people, but the differences are comparatively small; and the whole body of the Shasta appear to have had substantially the same myths.

Comparisons of the Shasta myths in content with those of the surrounding stocks can only be made at present to the southwest, the south, and the east. With the Hupa¹ and Wishosk,² the only stocks of the Northwestern area from whom material is accessible, the similarities are more general than particular, although some eight or ten incidents are found which are common. With the Wintun,³ the extent of the resemblance is about the same as that with the Hupa and Wishosk. Closer analogies exist, however, with the Yana,³ and the closest of all with the Achomā'wi, Atsugé'wi, and Northeastern Maidu.⁴ Here, on the other hand, the type

¹ Goddard, *op. cit.*

² Kroeber, *Journal of American Folk-Lore Society*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 85-108.

³ Curtin, *Creation Myths of Primitive America*. Boston, 1898.

⁴ Dixon, see this volume, pp. 39 et seq.

of the mythology as a whole is not in accord. We have thus the Shasta mythology agreeing in general type most closely with the Hupa and Wishosk, whereas in content and incident the agreement is closer with the Yana, Achomā'wi, and Northeastern Maidu. A large mass of incidents, however, show no relation to either of these or to the Wintun.

The almost complete lack of mythological material from the Oregon stocks makes comparison to the northward, for the present, difficult. It appears, however, that as compared with the Tillamook,¹ Chinook,² and Kathlamet,³ there are a number of similarities, and that these are relatively greater, and of more importance, than is the case with the Maidu. We find, for example, among the Kathlamet,⁴ a myth in many ways comparable to the Shasta tale of the girl who was sent to marry the famous hunter, but who by mistake married the wrong man. The tale of the Lost or Stolen Brother is also found in a somewhat variant form among the Tillamook.⁵ Several of the incidents in the Coyote tales are to be found, as well, among both the Tillamook⁶ and the Chinook.⁷ Although these latter incidents are found among the Maidu, still they are practically confined to the northeastern portion of the stock, which is very closely in contact with the Achomā'wi.

On the whole, then, it may be said that the mythology of the Shasta is unsystematic, and in this particular resembles more the type of Northwestern California than that of the Maidu. In content, however, the analogies are closer apparently to the southeast and east than to the west. It is also to be noted that such agreements as are to be found to the northward are more marked with the coastal tribes — such as the Tillamook, Chinook, Kathlamet, etc. — than with the peoples of the northern part of the Great Basin.

¹ Boas, *Traditions of the Tillamook* (Journal of American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XI, pp. 23, 133).

² Boas, *Chinook Texts* (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 20), Washington, 1894.

³ Boas, *Kathlamet Texts* (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 26), Washington 1901.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-24.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 136-138.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 140, 141.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing description of the culture of the Shasta, certain general conclusions may be drawn. As a whole, the Shasta may be said to occupy a somewhat intermediate position between the cultures characteristic of Northwestern California, of Central California, and of Southern Oregon. Agreeing more or less closely with the Hupa, Yurok, and Karok of the Northwestern area in much of their material culture, they yet differ widely and fundamentally from them in much of their social organization and religious life. The differences are, I believe, too great to warrant us in including the Shasta as members of the clear-cut culture of the Northwestern area. Even less do they show the characteristic features of the Central culture area, with its circular, semi-subterranean, earth-covered lodges, its high development of basketry, its loose social organization, its elaborate religious ceremonials, and well-developed creation myths. The Shasta thus appear to occupy a somewhat isolated position as regards the typical Californian cultures, to be, indeed, un-Californian in their general characteristics, and probably more closely affiliated with the as yet little-known culture of Southern Oregon.

Thus the conclusions to be drawn from the culture of the Shasta, as a whole, seem to corroborate the somewhat uncertain traditions as to a former considerable extension of this people to the northward.

The existence of fragments of three more or less well marked dialects about the periphery of the area occupied by the major portion of the Shasta, suggests the thought that possibly these might represent the remnants of an earlier branch of the stock more thoroughly Californian in its culture and characteristics. The present main body of the Shasta, then, might be regarded as a comparatively recent wave of immigrants, from the Oregon side of the Siskiyou, who had overwhelmed those members of the stock who were earlier in occupancy, and brought in a larger element of Oregonian culture.¹ This

¹ Dixon, *The Mythology of the Shasta-Achomá'wi* (*American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. VII, p. 612).

is, and must probably always remain, a mere hypothesis; for the data requisite for its verification have mainly disappeared. Nothing virtually remains of these fragmentary groups speaking different dialects, and we are therefore unable to make any comparisons of their culture with that of the present main body of the Shasta, or the surrounding stocks. The meagre information in regard to the Konomi'hu given in the appendix is, it must be confessed, as much opposed to this theory as it is in favor of it. It is not impossible that investigations now in progress among the Achomá'wi and Atsugé'wi, the two eastern members of the Shastan stock, may aid in this matter, and that more searching linguistic studies than have yet been made may also throw some light on this question, which must for the present be left undecided.

APPENDIX.

THE KONOMI'HU. — In the summer of 1903, what appears to be a hitherto unknown branch of the Shasta was found to have formerly occupied a small area about the Forks of Salmon River.¹ Acting on information from Dr. A. L. Kroeber and Dr. P. E. Goddard of the University of California, in regard to what they supposed was a slightly different dialect of Shasta, it was discovered that, although at present a Shasta dialect is spoken in this vicinity, formerly it was occupied by a people calling themselves Konomi'hu, and speaking a very different language. The last survivor of these people died in 1901, and only the following very fragmentary information could be secured.

The area occupied by the Konomi'hu extended, from the Forks, some seven miles up the South Fork, and five miles up the North Fork, of the Salmon River. They lived, for the most part, in a single village on the right bank of the South Fork, a few hundred yards above the Forks itself. Their houses were round bark huts with a conical roof, the

¹ Dixon, *The Shasta-Achomá'wi: A New Linguistic Stock with Four New Dialects* (American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. VII, pp. 213-217).

floor of the house being excavated some half-metre below the surface of the ground. The houses had a door at one side and a smoke-hole in the centre of the roof. There were no dance-houses, nor were houses built that were like those of the Yurok or Karok. The Konomi'hu dressed in buckskin robes, leggings, and skirts, much fringed, and decorated with both shell and beads, and with painted designs in black, white, and red. These leggings and robes were much traded to the Shasta of Scott Valley. No baskets were made, all being obtained by trade. Buckets of skin, with a wooden hoop for a rim, were much used. Platters and trough-shaped vessels of stone were used for various purposes, and spoons of elk-horn and wood. Their food was fish, game, and acorns; the latter being pounded in wooden mortars made from a trunk of a tree. No nets were used in fishing, only spears. They did not use a pack-basket, but a large buckskin bag carried by means of a tump-line. The Konomi'hu traded with the Shasta for disk-shaped shell beads, and with the Karok for dentalia, and had but little contact with the Hupa. They intermarried with the Shasta of Scott Valley to a considerable extent. Nothing resembling the dances characteristic of the lower Klamath was known to the Konomi'hu. The Coyote was thought to have created the world. There was no tradition of migration. The dead were buried.

From this fragmentary account, it is evident that the culture of the Konomi'hu was substantially in accord with that of their neighbors, in particular the Shasta, but that in some features there was a difference. This discrepancy was, however, very much greater from the linguistic point of view, as will be apparent from the short vocabulary which follows. This was secured with some difficulty, and consists merely of the miscellaneous words which my informant was able to remember as having been used by her grandfather, a Konomi'hu, in her girlhood, some thirty years before. In only one or two cases are there recognizable similarities with any other language in the region, and these are with Shasta or Achomawi. The whole feeling and sound of the language is, however, very much like the Shasta, and it has therefore been tenta-

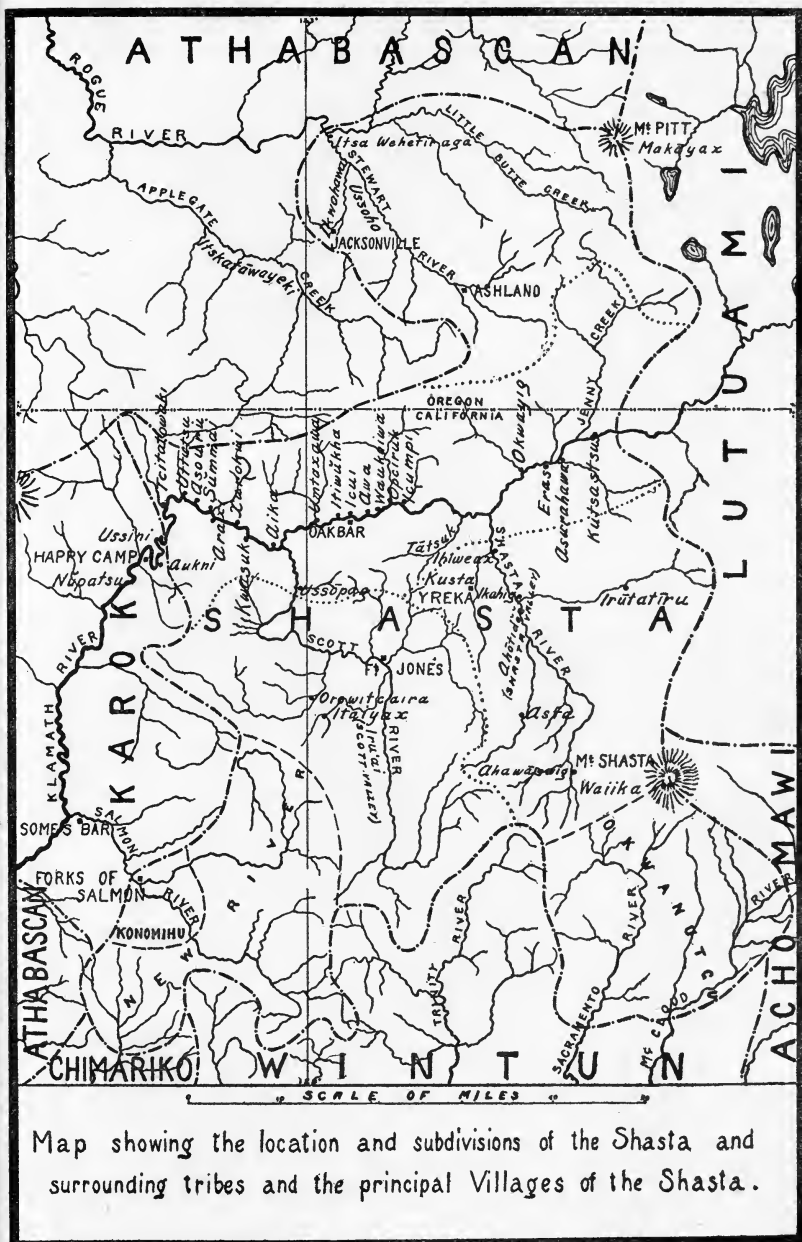


tively classed as belonging to the Shastan stock. Inasmuch as this brief vocabulary, however, is probably all that can now be secured of this language, it was thought best to publish it here in full, in order that it may be accessible to linguistic students.

Hand.....	ki'poman
Legs.....	kahā'masākanā'tsxsu
Eye.....	ki''oi
Hair.....	t!ā'wai
Head.....	kī'na
Back.....	kī'kiwatitxop
Indian.....	kis'apuhī'yu
Wild Indian.....	iksin'ahutqe
Fox.....	ki'putska
Ground squirrel.....	ki'pnikawats
Grizzly bear.....	kāmkā'tsinèau
Coyote.....	qōmū'tsau
Frog.....	kluts'watin
Bat.....	kitcūm'uni
Salmon.....	yā'nni
Newt.....	tapā'kan
Trout.....	sa'hawai
Lake.....	t!in'apxau
Water.....	kum'ma
Sand.....	kit'!uts
Mountain.....	kip
A flat.....	pā'wi
Saddle of mountain.....	hè'mau
Pinnacle of rock.....	tī'poi
House.....	in'nnokwayig
Stone.....	qwā'sunip
Creek.....	kinapxig
A ford.....	hau'na
Night.....	qummā't't!au
Trail.....	k!enōm'
Obsidian.....	k!e'tspai
Hazel.....	xas'kipāma
Wild onion.....	ta''awanak
Wild onion, another variety.....	kwan'apxo
White fir.....	sa'maka
Cedar.....	kin'axo, qoā'
Brush, bushes.....	ki'tsa
Spruce.....	qohī'ma
Stingy.....	kūxiwi'wi

Straight.....	is'abunnatüttsü'kum	
Ugly, bad-looking.....	atanè'wig kip'xawi	
High.....	pāk'wai	
Eat.....	tammā'hawě	
Come down!.....	kipā'k'hau	
Who licked that off?.....	tcapā'ti nip''nit t!aiās'	
Who cut that off?.....	tcapā'ti tāxès'	
I'll hit you.....	assè'hèpannahap	
I am sorry.....	ai'yukiyātc	
Let's run a race!.....	qwa'hapūās	
I'll run too.....	k!wi'himati ts!a'ts!au	
Look up this way!.....	qōhī'ma qwā'ma	
I met him there.....	qī'si put'sup	
Cedar is soaking.....	kin'axo k!ū'patsipā'qua	
Where do you come from?.....	tcā'ma hāyi	
Come here!.....	ma'tikina	
Get down!.....	k!ihī'tsinnihauwě	
Look over!.....	kis'nitiknīma	
Go away!.....	kī'ts'liyatsau	
Who is that?.....	kīpa'ha'po	
I'm afraid of him.....	kip'isinikwai	
Go away! I'm just going to hit you..	yīs'anamnās yās'amati tca- pātitakya	





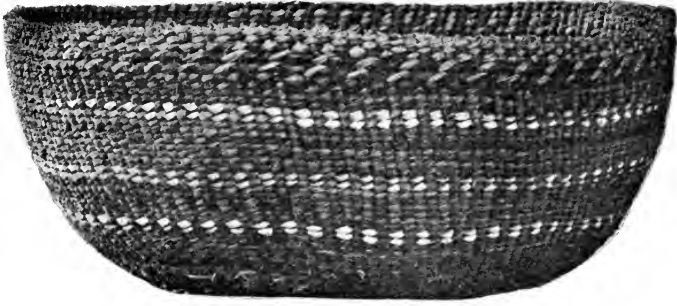
EXPLANATION OF PLATE LX.

SHASTA BASKETS.

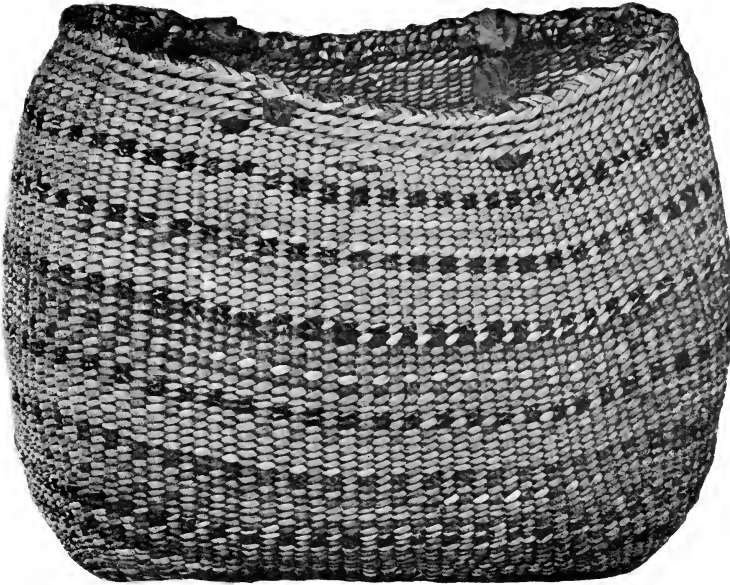
FIG. 1.—Basket with “wood set up around” design. In this specimen the warp is crossed just below the edge, as in baskets of Northwestern type. Height, 10 cm.; diam., 25 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4058}$.

FIG. 2.—Basket with “wood set up around” design. Height, 18 cm.; diam., 21 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4061}$.





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SHASTA BASKETS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXI.

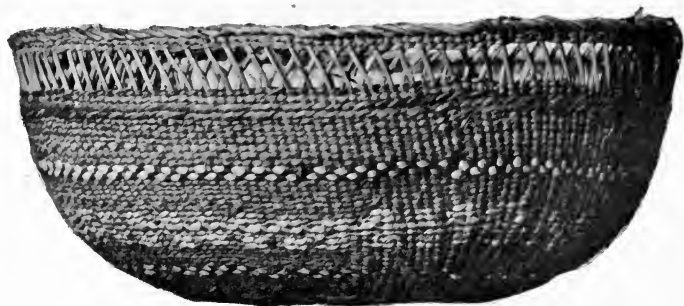
SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Basket with “wood set up around” design. This is the decoration most commonly found on Shasta baskets. Height, 11 cm.; diam., 25 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{59}{4057}$.

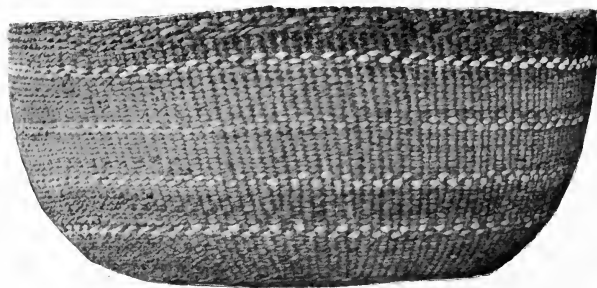
FIG. 2.—Basket with “wood set up around” design. Height, 13 cm.; diam., 28 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{59}{4047}$.

FIG. 3.—Basket with “wood set up around” design. Height, 11 cm.; diam., 29 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{59}{4080}$.

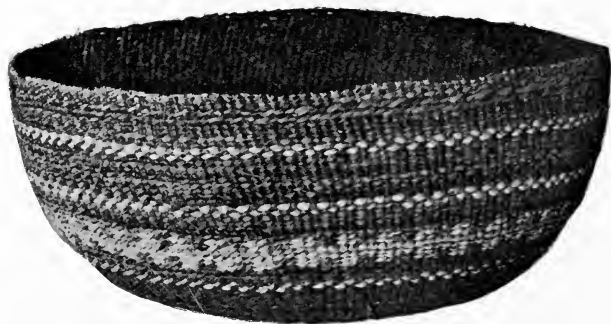




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SHASTA BASKETS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXII.

SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Basket with “flint goes around” design. Height, 12 cm.; diam., 24 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4055}$.

FIG. 2.—Basket with “flint goes around” design. Height, 11 cm.; diam., 23 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4056}$.

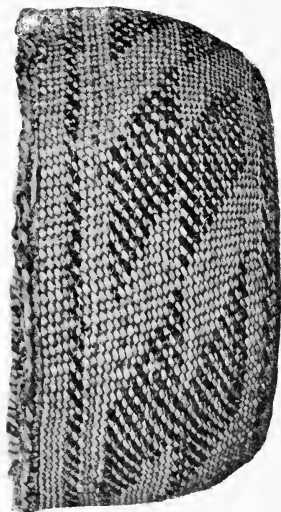
FIG. 3.—Basket with “butterfly” design, which is practically the Yurok “waxpoo.” This specimen has the edge with warps turned over, which is characteristic of baskets secured from the Shasta at Siletz. Height, 7 cm.; diam., 22 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4054}$.

FIG. 4.—Basket with “salmon-heart” design, which is much like the Yurok and Karok “sturgeon” or “snail’s back.” Height, 10 cm.; diam., 19 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4048}$.

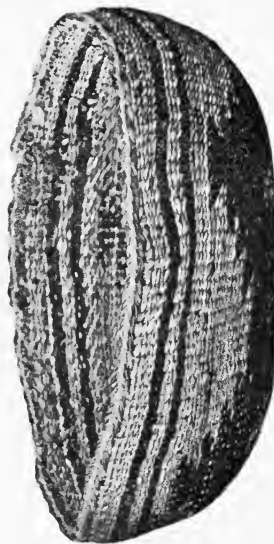




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SHASTA BASKETS.

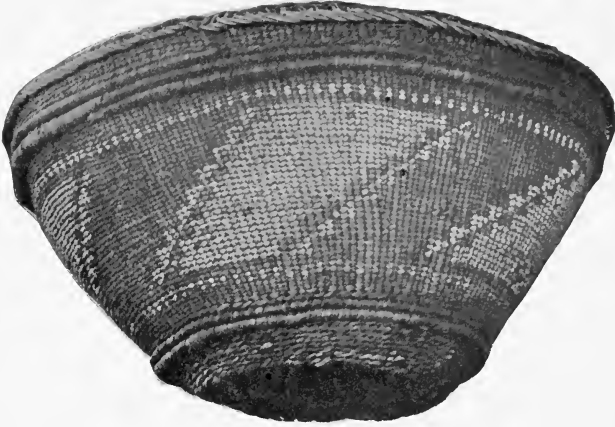
EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXIII.

SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Milling-basket with design of unknown significance, but which is similar to the Yurok "ladder" design. Height, 18 cm.; diam., 39 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4083}$.

FIG. 2.—Basket with design of unknown significance. Height, 14 cm.; diam., 38 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{3172}$.





1



2

SHASTA BASKETS

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXIV.

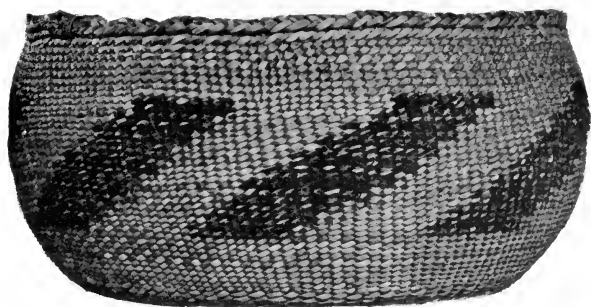
SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Basket resembling Wintun baskets, with design "it goes round one way," which is similar to the "pulled around" design shown on a basket from the upper Sacramento. Height, 10 cm.; diam., 20 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4051}$.

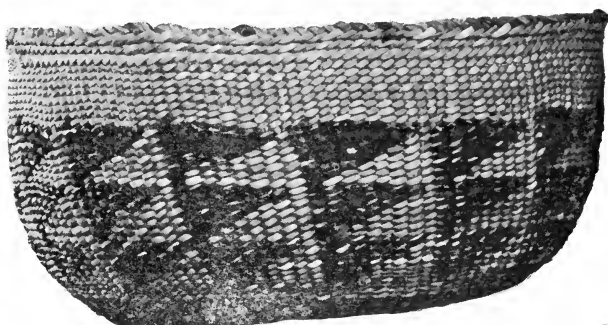
FIG. 2.—Basket resembling Wintun baskets, with design "it goes round one way," which also suggests the Achomá'wi design of the "skunk." Height, 11 cm.; diam., 24 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4053}$.

FIG. 3.—Basket with design "it goes round crooked." This is identical with the Maidu design of "wood in billets." Height, 13 cm.; diam., 21 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4053}$.

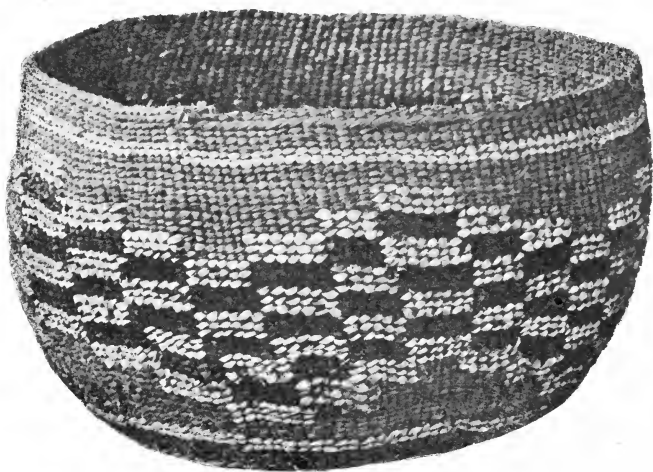




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SHASTA BASKETS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXV.

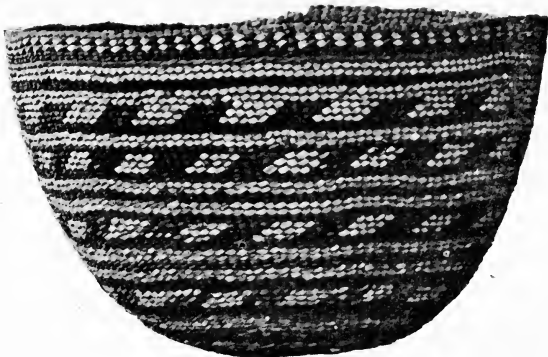
SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Basket with design of unknown significance. Height, 11 cm.; diam., 18 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4065}$.

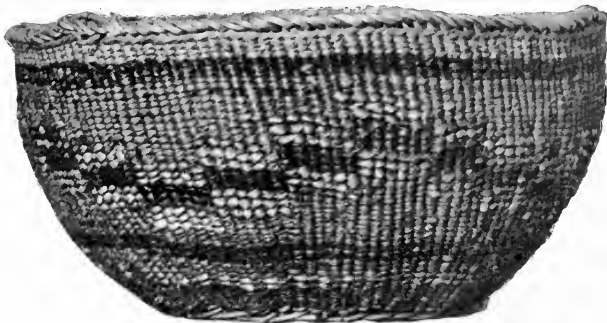
FIG. 2.—Basket with design "it goes round crooked." This is identical with the Maidu design of "wood in billets." Height, 12 cm.; diam., 23 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4058}$.

FIG. 3.—Basket with "frog's-belly" design. This is similar to the Maidu "water-snake" design. Height, 13 cm.; diam., 26 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4059}$.

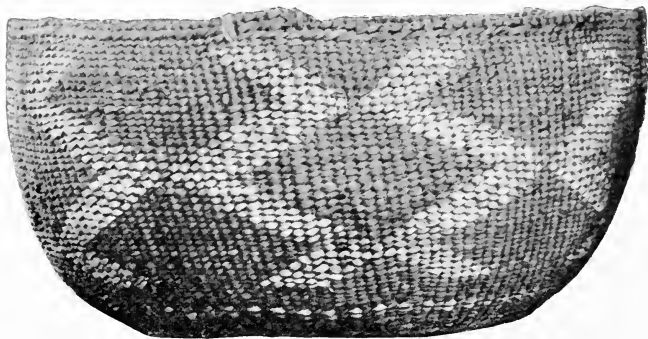




1



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3

SHASTA BASKETS.

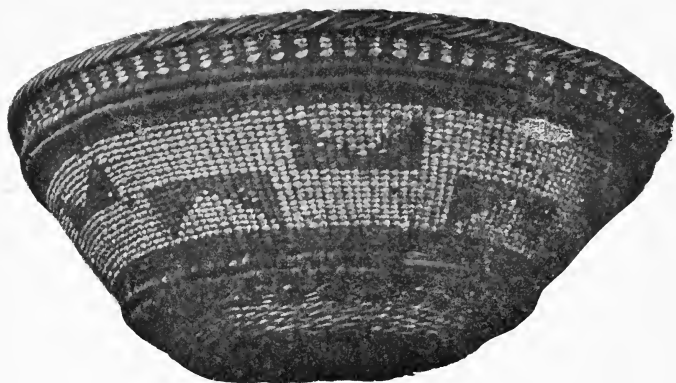
EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXVI.

SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Mortar-basket with design resembling one element in the Achomã'wi "mussel's-tongue." Height, 14 cm.; diam., 39 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4062}$.

FIG. 2.—Mortar-basket with strengthening-rod. Height, 16 cm.; diam., 44 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{3188}$.





I



2

SHASTA BASKETS.

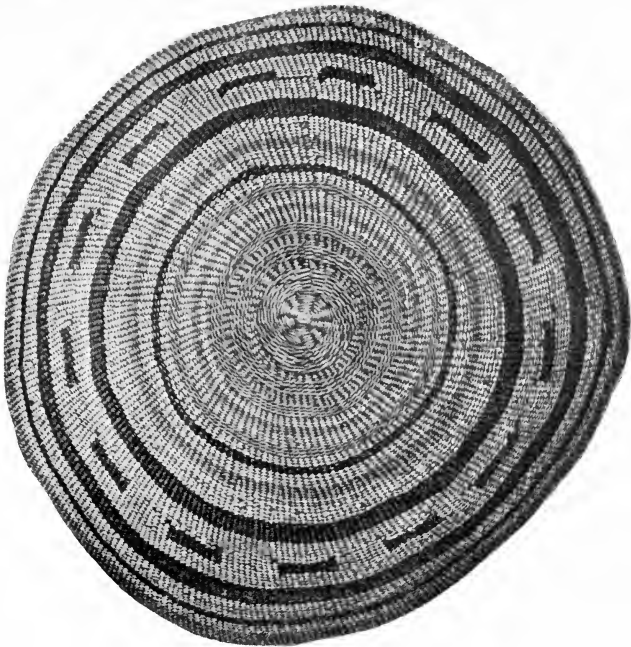
EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXVII.

SHASTA BASKETS.

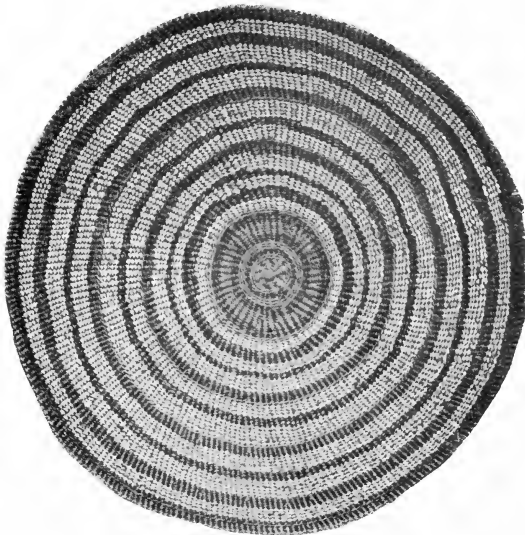
FIG. 1.—Basket with design of unknown significance. Height, 13 cm.; diam., 46 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4065}$.

FIG. 2.—Basket finished with a band of closer twining, and with design of unknown significance. Height, 7 cm.; diam., 39 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4066}$.





I



2

SHASTA BASKETS.

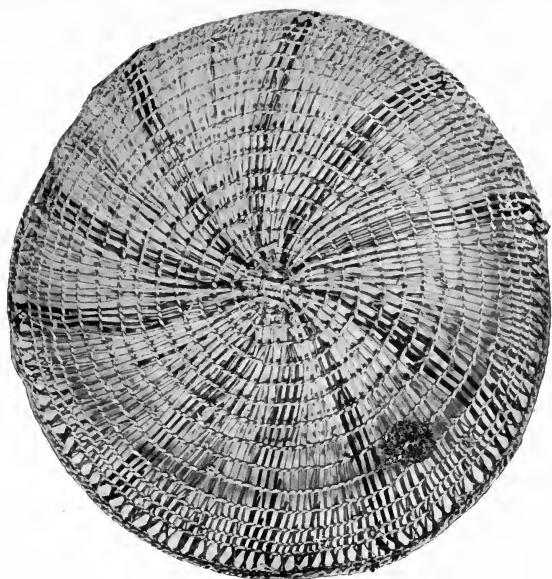
EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXVIII.

SHASTA BASKETS.

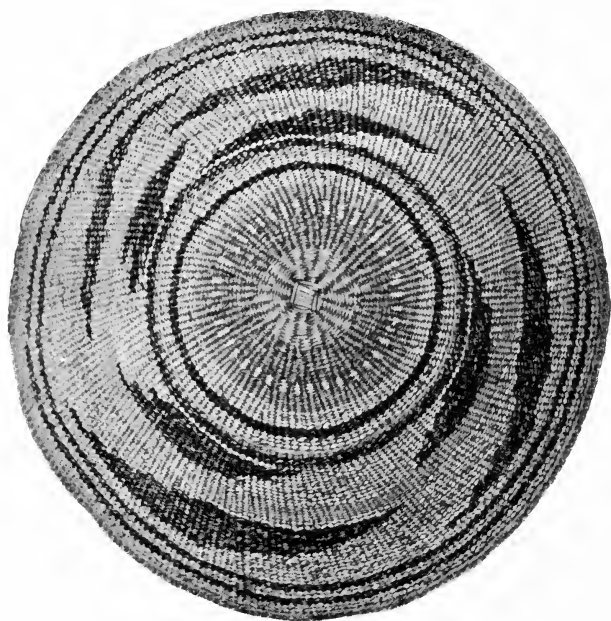
FIG. 1.—Open-work platter-basket with warp crossed just below the edge, as in baskets of Northwestern type. The ornamentation is by means of dyed warps, but the significance of the design is unknown. Height, 7 cm.; diam., 37 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4067}$.

FIG. 2.—Basket with design of unknown significance. Height, 9 cm.; diam., 40 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{4068}$.





I



2

SHASTA BASKETS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXIX.

SHASTA BASKETS.

FIG. 1.—Burden-basket of conical shape and open-work type.
Height, 50 cm.; diam., 56 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{3154}$.

FIG. 2.—Burden-basket of conical shape and open-work type. Height,
48 cm.; diam., 53 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{3153}$.





I



2

SHASTA BASKETS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXX.

SHASTA BASKETS.

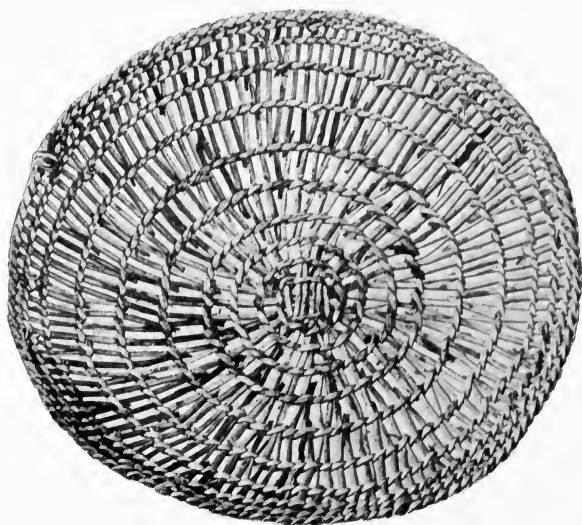
FIG. 1.—Open-work pack-basket with warp crossed just below the edge, as in baskets of Northwestern type. The ornamentation is by means of dyed warps. Height, 5 cm.; diam., 23 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{59}{3147}$.

FIG. 2.—Platter-basket. Height, 5 cm.; diam., 23 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{59}{3174}$.





1



2

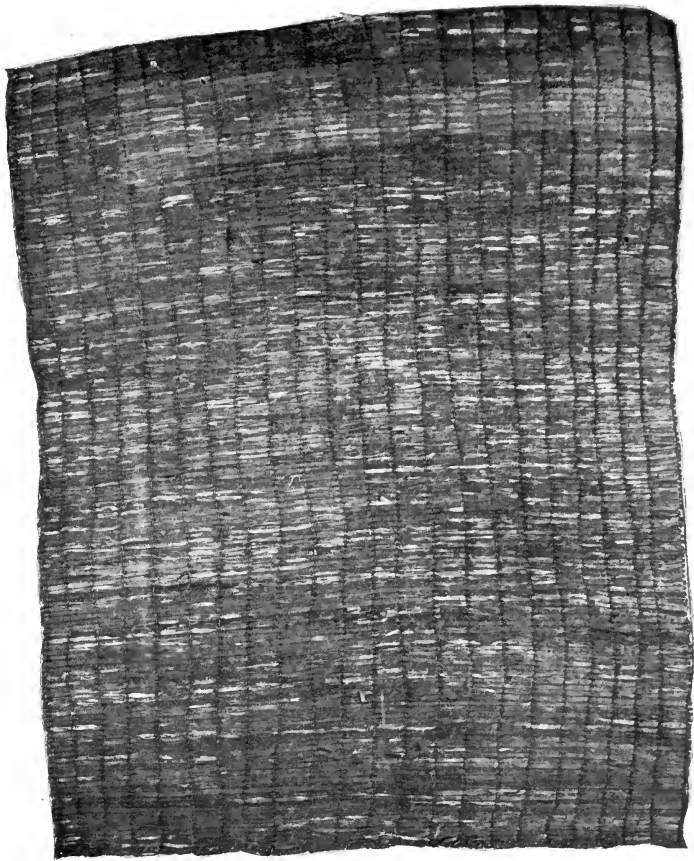
SHASTA BASKETS.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXXI.

SHASTA MAT.

This mat was made by twining, every three or four inches, woof-strands about reed warps, which were doubled at the sides. The ends of the mat are finished in a braid. Length, 166 cm.; width, 135 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{3210}$.





SHASTA MAT.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LXXII.

PAINTED BUCKSKIN.

Buckskin skirt ornamented with rude zigzags and dots of red paint.

This skirt is worn by shamans in connection with a painted buckskin head-dress decorated with feathers, etc. Length, 119 cm. Cat. No. $\frac{50}{3200}$.





PAINTED BUCKSKIN.



